

RUNNING IT HARD: MANAGING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONGST WOMEN  
INCARCERATED IN HAWAI'I

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SOCIOLOGY

DECEMBER 2016

By

Corey T. Adler

Dissertation Committee:

Val Kalei Kanuha, Chairperson

Meda Chesney-Lind

Susan Chandler

Marilyn Brown

Earl Hishinuma

Keywords: Women, Incarceration, Hawai'i

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many scholars have said that completing a dissertation is a long, lonely process. While my journey has indeed been long, it has not been lonely. There have been so many people who have taken this journey with me; I am humbled and grateful by the opportunity to acknowledge and thank them here.

My first thanks are to my chair, Valli Kalei Kanuha. You have been a teacher, a mentor and a friend. Your knowledge, wisdom and activism are inspiring, and I respect and admire your willingness to share your gifts with others. Our long discussions about sociology, feminism, Hawai'i, teaching, family and friends helped me to see and consider the world from multiple perspectives. Your belief in me and my work bolstered my confidence. I will continue fighting the good fight armed with the tools I developed under your guidance, and will pass them on to future generations of learners and change agents.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to the rest of my committee: Susan Chandler, Earl Hishinuma, Meda Chesney-Lind and Marilyn Brown. Your support and guidance have been invaluable. Susan, your critical eye and policy knowledge pushed me to consider my work as more than a scholarly exercise. Earl, thank you for early opportunities to learn and gain research experience. Your steadfast, logical outlook allowed me to see ways out of the emotionality of academe. Meda, your work and your longtime commitment to girls and women have been so influential to the field, and I am grateful to have learned from you. Marilyn, I

thank you for your willingness to join my committee in the last hour; your work inspired mine, and I am so thankful for your interest and enthusiasm.

To Lorraine Robinson, Talia Cardines, Kelcie Watson and the rest of the staff at Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine: conducting this research truly would not have been possible without your support and help. I thank you for your trust in me. From logistics to discussions about preliminary findings, you were instrumental to the completion of this dissertation. I look forward to working with you in support of incarcerated women for years to come.

To the women who participated in this study: I thank you for your openness and willingness to share the stories of your lives. While that which you shared allowed me to complete this study, I know that you participated in the hopes of helping other women. I honor your experiences and will strive to let your voices lead the way to greater understanding of women incarcerated in Hawai'i.

To my village, Mom, Dad, Dana, Kelly, Jon, Cody, and Jeff: thank you for believing in me. Mom, I can't thank you enough for your endless hours of support, encouragement and help keeping my daily life together. The wheels would certainly have fallen off if it weren't for you. Dad, your work has always been an inspiration; thank you for modeling what a true commitment to a just world looks like. And thank you for coming to the rescue when I needed you. Dana and Kelly, you are two of the best sisters a girl could ask for. Your daily check-ins, offers of food and deep-breathing techniques were lifesavers. Thanks also to brothers-in-law Jon and Cody for your enthusiasm all of these years.

To my husband, Jeff: thank you for your endless patience throughout this endeavor. We met, fell in love and fell immediately into this dissertation. Two moves, one house, one dog and two kids later, we can close this chapter together. I love you.

Finally, to my children, Joel and Emi: you came into my life during this process and were my inspiration to finish. You truly are the lights of my life and I look forward to seeing you accomplish your own goals and dreams.

## ABSTRACT

Using semi-structured interview methods and grounded theory analysis, this study of sixteen women in a prison work furlough program in Hawai'i produced a descriptive model of women's sites of social interaction. The major sites of social interaction, labeled relational domains, included families, intimate relationships, drug networks and the criminal justice system. In each domain, the women found sometimes opposing but reciprocal functions including affirmation and suffering, empowerment and abasement, and opportunities to engage in conventional and criminalized behaviors. Women utilized a wide range of gendered strategies to manage both the positive and negative aspects their relationships in each domain. The women in this study were able to sustain and manage their multiple, intersecting and independent relationships despite the complex roles they play in those domains. As the demands and conflicts within each relational domain increased, every informant described feeling overwhelmed at some point. A loss of equilibrium made the women vulnerable to triggers that pushed them past the tipping point into an intense period of drug use several termed, "running it hard." I argue that running it hard was a strategy used by the study informants to escape the overwhelming and conflicting demands placed upon them in their relational domains. This study also notes that Native Hawaiian women's relational domains intersected in different and significant ways. Implications from the study include a reconsideration of women's addiction and the role it plays in incarceration.

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLE 1: STUDY INFORMANTS

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: RELATIONAL DOMAINS AND INTERACTIONAL PROCESSES

FIGURE 2: RUNNING IT HARD

FIGURE 3: NATIVE HAWAIIAN RELATIONAL DOMAINS

## LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: IRB APPROVAL

APPENDIX II: DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY APPROVAL

APPENDIX III: CONSENT FORM

APPENDIX IV: FACE SHEET

APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	i
ABSTRACT .....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	viii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION .....	1
Statement of the Problem .....	2
Research Questions .....	10
Significance of Research.....	11
Feminist Methodology and Reflexivity.....	13
Reflexive Statement.....	15
Organizational Roadmap.....	22
CHAPTER II: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:	
THEORIZING GENDER, RACE AND DEVIANCE .....	25
Defining Gender .....	25
Doing gender in a patriarchy .....	27
Defining Race.....	32
Considering contemporary racial inequality and racism.....	35
Defining Deviance .....	37
Women’s deviance: Labeling perspective.....	41
Theorizing Women’s Crime and Incarceration .....	45
Pathways theory .....	45
Considering the Hawai’i Context.....	54
Examining gender in the Hawai’i context .....	56
Examining race and ethnicity in the Hawai’i context.....	59
Defining “local” .....	60
Theorizing Women’s crime and incarceration in Hawai’i .....	63
CHAPTER III: STUDY METHODS:	
TALKING WITH INCARCERATED WOMEN.....	67
Semi-Structured Interviewing.....	69
Recruiting and Interviewing the Residents .....	67
The Women in the Study .....	70
Analyzing the Data .....	72
Challenges.....	74
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS: “RUNNING IT HARD:” A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF	
INCARCERATED WOMEN’S SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS .....	75
Overview of Conceptual Model.....	77
The Family.....	80
Managing the family: Caretaking .....	85
Managing the family: Concealing.....	95

Managing the family: Leaving .....	102
Intimate Partners .....	104
Managing Intimate Partners: Finding love .....	105
Managing Intimate Partners: Concealing .....	108
Managing Intimate partners: Leaving .....	111
Drug Networks .....	118
Managing drug networks: Taking a little sister role .....	125
Managing drug networks: Taking a wife role .....	128
Managing drug networks: Taking a seller role .....	130
Managing drug networks: Controlling addiction .....	133
Criminal Justice System .....	135
Managing the Criminal Justice System: Avoiding the system .....	136
Managing the Criminal Justice System: Taking ownership .....	142
Managing the criminal justice system: Resisting .....	147
Running it Hard .....	150
Considering Culture: The Native Hawaiian Experience .....	160
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION .....	175
APPENDIX I: IRB APPROVAL .....	185
APPENDIX II: DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY APPROVAL .....	186
APPENDIX III: CONSENT FORM .....	187
APPENDIX IV: DEMOGRAPHIC FACE SHEET .....	190
APPENDIX V: INTERVIEW GUIDE .....	191
REFERENCES .....	193

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

As a researcher new to the area of women and incarceration, I spent a good deal of time doing preliminary literature reviews and talking with the staff at the work furlough site where I would be conducting my study. The overarching, recurring theme about incarcerated women was trauma: childhood trauma, sexual trauma, emotional trauma, trauma at the hands of intimate partners, trauma-informed care, trauma-based therapy. As I began talking with the women at the work furlough site, first as a volunteer, and later as a researcher, I was, therefore, not surprised to hear them relate histories of child abuse and neglect, rape, and intimate partner violence. And yet, the women's telling of their own lives was more than simply a trauma narrative.

The women in this study were multifaceted and complex. They portrayed themselves as good, kind, caring, helpful and protective of others. They discussed being willing participants in the illegal behaviors that eventually brought them to prison. Above all, the women spoke of the complicated nature of their relationships with others. From enduring abuse and victimization to taking on protective, motherly roles, the women in this study defined themselves in terms of others, often to their own detriment. One woman said it most clearly when she stated, "relationships have always taken me out. That's what caused me to go in to prison a lot." While specifically speaking about intimate partnerships, this statement was key to understanding the experiences of all the women in this study. This study reflects

the primacy the women placed on their social relations and uncovers the strategies used to manage these social relationships. Though trauma did indeed play a role in their lives, for the women in this study, the main narrative was the managing of their relationships with others.

### *Statement of the Problem*

Serious violent crime and property crime rates in the U.S. are on a steep decline, having dropped to their lowest levels in over thirty years (Rand 2009). The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) reports that in the period between 1999 and 2008, the rate of violent crime (including robbery, rape/sexual assault and simple and aggravated assault) dropped by 41%, and the rate of property crime (including household burglary, theft and motor vehicle theft) declined by 32% (Rand 2009). Despite these statistics, U.S. incarceration rates have risen to the highest in the world, with the greatest gains being made in the female population (Hartney 2006).

Despite a 1% decrease in the overall number of prisoners held in state and federal prisons between 2013 and 2014, the number of women held in state or federal correctional jurisdiction increased by more than 1% between 2013 and 2014 to over 113,000 women (Carson 2015). There are also more 100,000 more women are held in jails across the country (West and Sabol 2008). Having grown 832% between the years 1977 and 2007, women offenders now account for 7% of the incarcerated population (West and Sabol 2008). Incarcerated women have a median age of 32, often have a high school diploma or GED (60%), and are very likely to have children under the age of 18 for whom they have financial

responsibility (72%) (Belknap 2000; Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2002). They are also disproportionately women of color (Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2002; Chesney-Lind 1986; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; West and Sabol 2008).

The likelihood of a woman entering prison varies by race: 0.5% of white women, 3.6% of African American women and 1.5% of Hispanic women will be incarcerated at least once in her lifetime (Bonczar and Beck 1998). The estimated rate of sentenced female prisoners under state or federal jurisdiction per 100,000 U.S. residents demonstrates this disparity. 34 of 100,000 white women 205 of 100,000 African American women, and 60 of 100,000 Hispanic women are currently incarcerated (West and Sabol 2008). Finally, while African Americans make up roughly 12.6% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census 2010), African American women disproportionately account for 27% of the incarcerated population (Bloom, Owen and Covington 2002; West and Sabol 2008). White women make up 47% of the incarcerated population (West and Sabol 2008) though the U.S. population is 72% white when including Hispanic origin, 63.7% white not including Hispanic origin (U.S. Census 2011).

In addition to the over 115,000 women incarcerated in federal and state prisons, BJS reports that over a million women were on probation, parole, or some other type of post-incarceration supervision in 2011, representing 25% of the total 4,814,200 people under community supervision (Maruschak and Parks 2012). Once released from prison, many find it difficult to transition back in to the community.

Over half of the released female inmates are rearrested for either a new crime or a violation of the terms of their parole or probation within three years (Deschenes, Owen and Crow 2007).

In one analysis of the records of 272,111 former prisoners, it was found that of the 23,562 female inmates, 57.6% of the women were rearrested; 37.9% were reconvicted and 16.7% were resentenced to prison for a new offense within three years, most frequently for drug or property crimes, and least frequently for violent crimes (Deschenes, Owen, and Crow 2007:22). When examining recidivism by race, African-American females were more likely than white females to be rearrested, reconvicted, resentenced to prison and returned to prison, and Hispanic females were slightly more likely than non-Hispanic females to be re-sentenced to prison (Deschenes, Owen, and Crow 2007:28). Deschenes, Owen and Crow (2007) also found that the most significant predictor of re-arrest for women was the number of times she was arrested in the past and the age at which she was released. They concluded that gender and race/ethnicity were salient factors for post-release recidivism and that greater understanding of this would yield more effective interventions (Deschenes, Owen, and Crow 2007).

Despite the growing numbers of women involved in the criminal justice system, arrest data do not necessarily show an increase in female crime commission (Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2004). Instead, analysis of arrest and incarceration data report that the number of women under criminal justice supervision has disproportionately risen in relation to the number

of women arrested. Whereas the number of women arrested rose 38.2% between 1989 and 1998, the number of women under correctional supervision rose by 71.8% (Bloom, Owen and Covington 2004:34).

The rise in women confined in or under the watch of the prison system has been attributed to what many have called an “incarceration binge” or the willingness to build prisons and put women in them (Chesney-Lind 1997; Owen 1999). The move towards incarcerating women has been linked to many social forces including the war on drugs, changes in law-breaking and enforcement, and punitive responses to crime (Belknap, Covington and Bloom 2003; Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2004; Bush-Baskette 2000; Chesney-Lind 1986; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Owen 1999).

Sentencing data have shown that the majority of incarcerated women have been convicted of non-violent crimes (Belknap, Covington and Bloom 2003; Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2002; Chesney-Lind 1986; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999; Owen 1999; Snell and Morton 1994). Approximately one-third of incarcerated women were convicted of committing a violent offense (West and Sabol 2008). Of that one-third, two-thirds did so against a relative, an intimate or someone they knew (Snell and Morton 1994). The remaining two-thirds of incarcerated women are non-violent offenders most frequently incarcerated for property crimes which are often committed in connection with addiction, followed closely by drug offenses (Anglin and Hser 1987; West and Sabol 2008).

It has been suggested that anti-drug laws have cast a wide net and disproportionately brought women in to the criminal justice system (Belknap, Covington and Bloom 2003; Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2002; Bush-Baskette 2000; Chesney-Lind 1986; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999; Owen 1999; Snell and Morton 1994).

Since the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988, women have been imprisoned for drug crimes at much higher rates than men (Bush-Baskette 2000; Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999; Owen 2003). Whereas drug offenses accounted for 32% of the increase in male incarceration in state prisons from 1986-1996, they accounted for 49% of the increase in female state prison incarceration during the same period (Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999). Harsher penalties have been associated with the war on drugs including “three strikes” laws, longer sentences and changes to mandatory sentencing minimums. Together, these changes have swept larger numbers of women into the prison system for longer periods of time. These laws often target lower-level drug users who are more likely to be women, as opposed to drug dealers and traffickers, who are more likely to be men (Bush-Baskette 1999; Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999; Owen 2003). A combination of lack of access to addiction services coupled with increased technologies for detecting drugs in the body have also kept drug-addicted women imprisoned for longer sentences (Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Covington and Bloom 2003). Several scholars have argued that the war on drugs is, for all intents and purposes, a war on women, especially women of color (Bush-Baskette 2000; Chesney-Lind 1999; Owen 2003).



Despite declines in violent and property crime commission in the U.S., the prison population has exploded over the past decades. The largest and most noticeable changes in the prison population concern the incarceration of women. Women of color are disproportionately confined for longer periods of time, and are more likely to be under state supervision than white women (Bush-Baskette 2000; Chesney-Lind 1999; Mauer, Potler and Wolf 1999; Owen 2003).

The policies that have swept women into prison on the continental U.S. have had the same effect in Hawai'i. Most women incarcerated in Hawai'i are convicted of drug and property offenses as opposed to violent crimes (Brown 2006). In Hawai'i, methamphetamine users have been the targets of restrictive and punitive laws including mandatory sentencing. While methamphetamine use has been linked to cultural, historical and individual trauma in Native Hawaiian communities, mandatory sentencing has worked hand in hand with a lack of drug-treatment options to ensure the long-term incarceration of Native Hawaiians (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2010, 214).

According to a report by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (2014), Native Hawaiians are statistically more likely to be given a prison sentence than all other racial/ethnic groups except Native Americans. Conversely, white defendants are only 67% as likely to get a prison sentence as a Native Hawaiian defendant while holding age, gender and type of crime constant (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2014). Native Hawaiians are also sentenced to longer prison and parole terms than other

racial/ethnic groups and make up the highest percentage of prisoners housed in out-of-state jails or prisons (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2014).

The increasingly harsh sentencing structure has contributed to the breakup of Native Hawaiian families. As Native Hawaiian women more frequently receive longer sentences than the general population, they are more likely to lose custody of their children. This comes as a result of federal and state laws that mandate the termination of parental rights to those unable to care for their children in the foreseeable future (Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2010).

While incarceration trends in Hawai'i reflect national statistics, there are some distinct features of Hawai'i's inmate population. The Hawai'i Department of Public Safety oversees four jails, four prisons and a federal detention center, most of which are located on the island of Oahu. Women offenders are held in the Women's Community Correctional Center and at the Federal Detention Center. Like the rest of the country, female incarceration rates in Hawai'i rose steadily through 2008. The women's correctional facility receives approximately 20 new inmates a month (Department of Public Safety, State of Hawai'i 2008). The number of incarcerated females in Hawai'i increased from 378 in 2000 to 475 in 2008, dropping to 309 in 2014 (Carson 2015; Sabol, West and Cooper 2010).

During the period of increasing female inmate population, approximately 200 women offenders from Hawai'i were transferred to prisons in Texas, Colorado, and Oklahoma (DePledge 2009). This was primarily a costs-savings strategy, dropping the cost of housing an inmate at the Women's Community Correctional

Center (WCCC) from \$86 a day to \$58.46 a day in Kentucky (Urbina 2009). The state began returning all female prisoners back to Hawai'i after allegations of sexual abuse by prison guards at the Otter Creek Correctional Center in Wheel Wright, Kentucky (DePledge 2009; Urbina 2009).

Currently, women incarcerated in Hawai'i are held in the women's prison facility, the federal detention center, and in community programs (DePledge 2009). Many of the women have poly-substance abuse and addiction issues (Chandler and Kassebaum 1994). As with the disproportionate confinement of African Americans noted nationally, Hawai'i disproportionately confines Native Hawaiian women. According to a recent report by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (2014), though 19.8% of women in the general population of Hawai'i self-identify as Native Hawaiian or part Native Hawaiian, 44% of women incarcerated under the jurisdiction of the state of Hawai'i are Native Hawaiian.

Despite the recent dips in the number of women incarcerated in Hawai'i and the U.S., the fact remains that women are still being imprisoned for long periods of time for low-level drug crimes and are victims of punitive responses to women's crime (Belknap, Covington and Bloom 2003; Bloom and Chesney-Lind 2007; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2004; Bush-Baskette 2000; Chesney-Lind 1986; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Owen 1999). The negative implications of time spent incarcerated are myriad. As there are fewer women's prisons around the nation, women are often housed away from the community and family in facilities that cannot meet their

physical and mental health needs (Braithwaite, Treadwell, and Arriola 2008; Freudenberg 2002).

While incarcerated, women are separated from their support systems and families, including young children. Incarceration of women with children has been linked to negative outcomes in children including insecure relationships, antisocial behavior, youthful offending, depression and other mental health issues, drug abuse, and unemployment (Dallaire 2007; Murray and Farrington 2008; Poehlmann 2005). Upon their release from prisons, women often return to communities unable to find housing and jobs and with untreated or recurring substance abuse issues (Braithwaite, Treadwell, and Arriola 2008; Freudenberg 2002; Richie 2001). Additionally, many women report having been violently and sexually victimized by agents of the criminal justice system including police officers and prison guards (Alarid 2000; Baro 1997; Kraska and Kappeler 1995; Richie 2012; Struckman-Johnson, Struckman-Johnson, Rucker, Bumby, and Donaldson 1996). Baro (1997) presented a case study of sexual assault of women incarcerated in Hawai'i and found that female inmates were highly vulnerable to sexual assault and that they rarely received legal help or protection.

### *Research Questions*

Given the information above, my research questions sought to examine the trajectory towards criminalization of women in Hawai'i. Specifically, I sought to discover how women in Hawai'i become involved in criminalized behaviors and to uncover the life experiences of local and Native Hawaiian women that led to their

incarceration. In addition to identifying the life experiences that led to criminalization and incarceration of women in Hawai'i, I wanted to know how women in Hawai'i who have been involved in criminalized behaviors describe and understand their life trajectories pre- and post-incarceration.

I sought to gain a deeper understanding of how the life experiences of local and Hawaiian incarcerated women have been shaped by Hawai'i's historical, political and cultural contexts. Finally, as Maher (1997) prescribed about research with women lawbreakers, I sought to "explore the tension between agency and victimization and how this reflects power relations and practices" by examining how women in Hawai'i managed their pre-criminalization process and negotiated the impingements upon their agency by formal and informal social control agents.

### *Significance of Research*

For the past thirty years, feminist criminologists have produced an important body of work examining how structural oppressions and gender-based victimization features heavily in the lives of criminalized and incarcerated women (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Chesney-Lind 1989; Chesney-Lind 1997; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Daly 1994; DeHart 2004; DeHart 2008; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Gilfus 1992; Herrera and McCloskey 2000; Joe and Chesney-Lind 1995; Richie 1996). Previous studies of incarcerated women have consistently found histories of abuse and victimization (Batchelor 2005; Daly 1992; DeHart 2004; DeHart 2008; Gehring 2016; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2005; Simpson, Yahner and Dugan 2008; Wright, Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2007). Daly's (1992) work identified and linked

early childhood abuse and criminalization to adult incarceration in four distinct pathways. Recent empirical testing has found significant relationships between gendered experiences, drug use and mental health issues amongst incarcerated women (Brennan et al.; Gehring 2016).

Research on women's crime commission and incarceration in Hawai'i has found much support for the pathways theory (Brown 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005). Studies conducted on incarcerated women in Hawai'i have identified high rates of childhood trauma including home violence, placement in foster care, sexual abuse, running away from home, dropping out of school, and teen pregnancy, as well as domestic violence and homelessness in adulthood (Brown 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005). Native Hawaiian women were found to experience negative life events earlier in their lives (Brown 2006; Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005).

This study contributes to the work of previous feminist criminologists on the lives of women incarcerated in Hawai'i in two ways. First, this study uses a different sample and method than previous studies. Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez (1983) interviewed women in the state correctional facility, while Brown (2006) conducted her study with women on parole in the state of Hawaii. Yuen, Hu and Engel (2005) interviewed women in a Hawai'i prison work furlough program and quantified their open and closed-ended survey questions. My study was conducted in the same work furlough program as Yuen, Hu and Engel (2005), but used semi-structured interviewing as the main data collection method, with grounded theory

as the analytical strategy. This study also relied on participant-observations from my time as a volunteer with the study site, which emerged as a result of my research. Additionally, this study adds to the knowledge about the lives of incarcerated women in Hawai'i by examining the intersection between structure and agency among women who engage in crime.

### *Feminist Methodology and Reflexivity*

There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions. But the feminist standpoint theorists' goal of an epistemology and politics of engaged, accountable positioning remains eminently potent. The goal is better accounts of the world, that is, 'science.' (Haraway 1988:590)

Though there is no single feminist research method, feminist methodology is "the terrain where philosophy and action meet" (Sprague 2005:5). Based on an understanding that research has historically been a source of oppression for women and other marginalized groups, feminist methodology strives for research that "excavates" women's experiences and perspectives, gives voice to previously unheard concerns; is rooted in change-making for women and other marginalized communities; actively avoids re-oppressing already marginalized groups; and minimizes harm and power-control relationships between the researcher and the researched (Bhavnani 1993; Cook and Fonow 1986; DeVault 1999). Though often in contrast with the positivist tradition of the sciences in which the researcher is invisible or "godlike" (Haraway 1988), feminist scholarship locates the researcher

within the research endeavor (Ackerly and True 2008; Bhavnani 1993; Cook and Fonow 1986; Day 2012; DeVault 1999; Haraway 1988).

Feminist and other critical scholars have noted that the most common relationship of researcher and researched has been that of privileged academician and disadvantaged, marginalized subject (Fine 2004; Jones and Jenkins 2008; Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis 2008). The subjects of qualitative studies often come from underprivileged and marginalized communities, whereas, the researchers are often privileged by race, class and gender. The privileged status of the researcher is further reinforced through the research process itself, wherein the researcher is positioned as the “rational,” analytic voice, and the researched positioned as an objectified, subordinate Other (Fine 2004).

To avoid and resist “Othering,” Fine (1994) wrote that social researchers must first self-consciously engage in constant reflection of the cultural and political contexts of the Self, the Other, and the relationship between the two. To do so allows the researcher to “work the hyphens,” or examine “how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations” (72). Working the hyphens, Fine argued, can make clear the power dynamics inherent in the research endeavor and, make the researcher aware of and avoid paternalistic and objectifying research.

In order to work the hyphens, Fine (2004) suggested that social researchers “probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relationships” (72). In order to



effectively examine the political and cultural space between the researcher and the participants, feminist scholars often employ reflexivity, or the “self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher” (England 1994:82).

In feminist methodologies, researchers locate their own positionality (the ascribed and achieved statuses which serve as social markers including sex, gender, race, class, age, sexual orientation, education level, marital status, etc.) and the meanings these statuses may hold for informants in order to acknowledge power (England 1994; Finlay 2002; Rose 1997). In so doing, it is hoped that the research endeavor will be more egalitarian, or at least, less objectifying to the participants. Considering the positionality of the researcher and the informants can provide a richer, contextualized understanding of the world (England 1994; Finlay 2002; Rose 1997). While some debate has arisen as to the utility of reflexive statements<sup>1</sup>, most feminist scholars include a description of their positionality so as to situate their work, analysis and conclusions, as well as “provide a starting point for thinking about the social process and consequences of our research practices” (Day 2012:82).

### *Reflexive Statement*

In 2008, in the midst of completing my Master’s thesis on girls’ violence in Native Hawaiian and Samoan communities, my chair, Dr. Kanuha, invited me to attend the conference Women and Crime: The Interface with Gender and Domestic

---

<sup>1</sup> see Pillow (2003)

Violence in Honolulu, Hawai'i. I was eager to attend, largely because of my own interest and previous work as an educator and crisis counselor at a local rape crisis center. After the morning session, I joined a small group of conference attendees at lunch where I met two women from a prison work furlough program.

After chatting, we discovered that we were all in our early thirties. As we spoke about our various interests, I was struck by our commonalities. I was dismayed to think of these women being so highly monitored and regulated by the State; I imagined myself in such a situation and felt a sense of claustrophobia and suffocation. I found myself contextualizing my own gendered experiences and those of the survivors I worked with at the rape crisis center within the patriarchal structures that was exerting such institutionalized social control over the women sitting next to me. Simultaneously, I acknowledged the privileges that I embody such that my own transgressions against societal norms had never resulted in incarceration.

I was moved to focus my dissertation work on the lives and experiences of women incarcerated in the state of Hawai'i. I hoped this project would shed light on the U.S. social structures that support gender inequalities that can result in and institutionalize gender-based violence. As a middle class, multiracial, heterosexual married woman who has never been incarcerated, this project required the type of constant reflexivity prescribed by feminist methodologists in order to ensure that power differentials were addressed during the research, and that the analysis and conclusions avoided re-marginalizing an already oppressed group of people

(Bhavnani 1993; England 1994; Finlay 2002; Rose 1997). This meant being very clear on who I am, considering how I am viewed by others in the Hawai'i and prison contexts, and by seeking out guidance in analyzing and interpreting from those who had greater cultural knowledge than I.

Doing research at a prison work furlough site undoubtedly positioned me as the privileged academician. Being one of the few programs for incarcerated women in Hawai'i, the facility often had new volunteers and student interns for short periods of time. Both the staff and women in the program ("residents") were relatively indifferent to my arrival. Though it was a common occurrence for undergraduate and graduate students to be brought to the program, I came to the site as a friend of the executive director, who had worked with my father in the 1970's. This relationship was disclosed by the executive director early in my introduction to the residents and staff as a feminist mechanism of building connections and relationships (Regan and Brooks 1995). This endorsement afforded me a degree of acceptance from the residents and the staff, but also aligned me with the program administration.

The executive director had a casual, open, and rigorous rapport with the women in the program; the residents were both eager to speak with her and yet always cognizant of her power to send them back to the prison facility. The residents held this attitude toward most of the staff, and seemed to work to maintain a casual-yet-compliant demeanor. Because the executive director endorsed

me, I was treated in much the same way a new staff member might be treated: greeted with a smile and acknowledgement from a polite distance.

As I waited for my Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval and permission from the State of Hawai'i Department of Public Safety (DPS) to begin my research, I spent time at the facility as a volunteer in the late spring of 2011. I assisted the executive director with office related work, not interacting with the residents frequently, but spending time at the facility on a weekly basis. I often came to the facility straight from work.

As an assistant professor at a community college, I wore dress clothes and heels so as to stave off challenges to my power as a younger woman from students and other faculty on my campus. Upon entering the prison work furlough facility, these work clothes and heels functioned as yet another marker of my difference; most of the residents and staff wore sneakers or rubber slippers. I soon began changing into a pair of flat shoes or slippers prior to entering the site, if only to ease my own discomfort of standing out.

My dual statuses of graduate student and assistant professor at a community college within the University of Hawai'i system, regardless of what I wore, also located me in a privileged class. Several of the residents were either interested in taking classes at the community college where I taught, or had attended classes there in the past. Several others had taken classes at other campuses within the University system. This positioned me as someone who could, potentially, hold power over them in another institution out of the prison. A few of the residents

asked me about educational programs they were interested in; I shared as much information as I had with them and offered to find more details if they needed them.

I was able to parlay my teaching experience into direct service to the program and began teaching a series of life skills classes for the residents. This allowed me to get to know them on a more personal level. As the life skills classes teacher, I was able to differentiate myself from the actual site staff, to emphasize my lack of power within the agency, and position myself as “their” teacher, someone brought in especially for the residents. As the teacher, however, I did have the power to instruct and guide the lessons and was given authority to sign attendance and participation forms. As I subscribe to a feminist pedagogy, I attempted to build a space that was participatory, encouraged and respected everyone’s experiences and focused on community building and understanding (Shrewsbury 1987). This seemed to help with the rapport and trust building between the residents and myself. While the power dynamic were certainly still present, if not amplified by my role as teacher, teaching the life skills classes allowed me to contribute to the program and to help myself and the residents name our power differentials within a more clearly delineated structure.

In addition to the power dynamic inherent in my status as a non-incarcerated person teaching at the facility, other facets of my social location also afforded me privilege. Despite my family’s violent political history (my paternal Jewish grandparents fled to the United States from central Europe to escape the Holocaust leaving much of their family behind, and my maternal Japanese grandparents were

interned at the Tule Lake War Relocation Center during World War II), due to its unique political and cultural landscape, my racial/ethnic background has given me a privileged position in Hawai'i (Okamura 2008). While I have experienced many of the same insider-outsider self-identity issues raised by other multiracial/ethnic people (Bernstein and De la Cruz 2009; Taniguchi and Heidenreich 2005), being of Japanese and white heritage in Hawai'i is not an uncommon experience: roughly 25% of the state population reports being mixed race (Census 2012).

In considering the two racial/ethnic groups, white people in Hawai'i are often assumed to have greater economic power and higher levels of educational attainment. They are, however, often seen and treated as perpetual outsiders regardless of how long they have lived in Hawai'i (Rohrer 2005; Whittaker 1986). Hawai'i-born Japanese people are also seen as having greater economic power and higher levels of educational attainment, but are considered part of the "local" milieu (Okamura 1980). Thus, I have been generally perceived and treated as a member of the dominant class and mainly accepted as a middle- to upper-middle class local, depending on how my looks are perceived (which fluctuates depending on who I interact with).

It is also important to acknowledge that while I am a third generation born and raised in Hawai'i and am familiar with many of the informal norms and cultural symbols, I am not of Native Hawaiian ancestry. The majority of the women in this study were Native Hawaiian. The rest were Asian Pacific Islander or mixed-race Asian American. I am sure there were instances during the research process in

which I inadvertently missed culturally relevant signs, symbols and markers. In terms of the knowledge generated between myself and the Native Hawaiian residents, I remained cognizant of how historical and cultural contexts shaped our interactions, me being a member of a colonizing class interviewing Indigenous women in their colonized land<sup>2</sup>. I spent a great amount of time discussing my findings with my chair, a Native Hawaiian researcher and scholar, who helped me to better hear what the residents were telling me and to understand how their responses were the result of our interactions as embodied selves.

In a consideration specific to female researchers, I spent time at the facility while a new mother and while pregnant. As previously mentioned, I began volunteering at the program site in the spring of 2011. Soon after, I became pregnant with my first child. I became pregnant with my second child just as I was completing the study interviews. While I was not visibly pregnant at the time, I did conduct life skills classes up through my ninth month of pregnancy. Maher (1997) conducted her ethnography of a street drug economy while pregnant with twins. She noted that she had already developed a rapport with her informants by the time her pregnancy was showing, which, she believed, helped make her pregnancy a non-issue (Maher 1997). Similarly, by the time my second pregnancy was showing, I had

---

<sup>2</sup> Jones and Jenkins (2008) discuss the “difficulties and rewards” of indigenous and non-indigenous collaborations, writing that “emphasizing that mutual understanding or “learning about the Other is not the aim—or even possible—for dominant group students” (476). They write that the non-indigenous researcher should focus on “learning *from difference* rather than learning *about* the Other” (476).

already completed my interviews and developed a rapport with many of the women and staff. This seemed to minimize the focus on my pregnancy. Working the hyphens in this case, however, also meant considering how my visibly pregnant body and conversations about pregnancy and childcare might affect the interactions between the women and myself, as many were separated from their own children as a result of their incarceration.

In order to conduct feminist research on the experiences of criminalized women in Hawai'i, I had to acknowledge that while age and gender might have been a commonality, that the other aspects of my positionality distanced me from and privileged me over the women in my research study. Throughout the research endeavor, I attempted to "work the hyphens," considering how the knowledge generated was a result of the socially situated interactions between the women who participated in my study and myself.

### *Organizational Roadmap*

This dissertation is presented in five chapters. In Chapter I, I present the statement of the issue, focusing on the statistics of incarcerated women in the United States. I include a statement on feminist methodologies, as it is a guiding perspective for the research I conducted. I continue with my reflexive statement to locate myself as a researcher and to ask the reader to bear that in mind as I present the findings of this study.

In Chapter 2, I present the background literature that informed this study. I begin with by discussing three bodies of relevant sociological literature: gender,



race and deviance, considering both classical and contemporary scholarship. I then present the theories of women's crime and incarceration, focusing on the pathways model, including pathways research conducted in communities of color. Next, I discuss the Hawai'i context, examining the history of colonization and current day conceptions of gender, race and incarceration.

In Chapter 3, I lay out my methods, first discussing some of the difficulties of conducting research with incarcerated peoples. I address my own process of gaining access to the prison as well as some of the challenges I experienced. I discuss in detail the recruitment of my study informants and the use of semi-structured interviewing as a research method. Next, I discuss the handling of the data as well as a description of the analysis of the data using grounded theory.

I discuss my findings in Chapter 4. I argue that the women in this study manage four sites of social interaction, here titled relational domains. These domains include the family, intimate relationships, drug networks and the criminal justice system. I present a conceptual model that depicts the relationship between the four relational domains. I then discuss the strategies the study informants used to manage the often-overlapping relational domains. I argue that the women reach a tipping point at which time they engage in running it hard, or a focused engagement in the drug networks. Finally, I discuss how the model of relational domains differs for Native Hawaiian women.

In Chapter 5, I offer my study conclusions, limitations and implications for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW:

THEORIZING GENDER, RACE AND DEVIANCE

*Defining Gender*

Prior to the 1970's, the differences between males and females were explained largely in biological terms. Inequality between men and women was largely attributed to the superiority of the male body and psyche over those of the female body (Acker 1992; Fausto-Sterling 2009; Glenn 1999; Valdes 1996; West and Zimmerman 1987).

During the rise of the second wave of feminism in the 1960s, social scientists advanced the concept of gender. They suggested that whereas sex is biological, gender is cultural. That is, if sex is the biological type of an individual, gender is culturally located in the behaviors and expectations placed on individuals as socially constructed in social institutions across time (Acker 1992; Fausto-Sterling 2009; Lorber 1994; Lorber and Farrell 1991; Glenn 1999; West and Zimmerman 1987). The concept of gender was an important step in understanding inequality between men and women as a social construct as opposed to a biological inevitability (Glenn 1999).

First termed "sex roles," early studies of gender focused on childhood socialization and the molding of masculine and feminine traits that would serve the individual throughout his or her lifetime (Lorber 1994). This view of gender focused on how masculine and feminine traits were taught to children via their families,

schools, peer groups, etc., and then re/enacted over the course of a lifetime.

Psychologist Bem (1974) identified the leading traits associated with masculinity as “acts as a leader,” “aggressive,” “ambitious,” “analytical,” “assertive,” and “athletic.” Which feminine traits included “affectionate,” “cheerful,” “childlike,” “compassionate,” “gentle,” and “loves children” (Bem 1974).

In considering how children learn to take on either masculine or feminine traits, Bem (1981) explained that individuals understand the world as gendered and incorporate either masculine or feminine traits into their own self-concepts by learning societal behaviors considered desirable for males and for females. Individuals then choose patterns of these traits, called “gender schemas,” that correspond to their biological sex. Bem (1981) located the root of this behavior in societal insistence on a dualistic divide between male and female and the subsequent gender socialization based on this assertion of difference:

What prompts so many individuals to organize information in general, and their self-concepts in particular, in terms of gender? Why the prevalence of gender-based schematic processing? The answer would seem to derive, in part, from the society's ubiquitous insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy, from its insistence that an individual's sex makes a difference in virtually every domain of human experience. The typical American child cannot help but observe, for example, that what parents, teachers, and peers consider to be appropriate behavior varies as a function of sex; that toys, clothing, occupations, hobbies, domestic chores—even pronouns—all vary as a function of sex (362).

This explanation linked gender back to sex, re-integrating the sex and gender categories that had once been considered separate.

New work on sex and gender re-examined the concept of sex as a biologically determined binary classification system and advanced the idea that sex categories themselves have been socially constructed. Fausto-Sterling (2009) cited the paucity of research about intersexuality such that individuals born with ambiguous genitalia and chromosomes resulted in medical treatment of intersexed individuals that perpetuated the socially constructed concept of a binary sex:

From the viewpoint of medical practitioners, progress in the handling of intersexuality involves maintaining the normal. Accordingly, there ought to be only two boxes: male and female. The knowledge developed by the medical disciplines empowers doctors to maintain a mythology of normal by changing the intersexual body to fit, as nearly as possible, into one or the other cubbyhole (Fausto-Sterling 2009:10).

That sex is socially constructed opened the door to more robust arguments for gender as a social construct and helped to clarify the complex relationship between sex and gender.

*Doing gender in a patriarchy.*

Rather than separating them into two separate categories, sociologists theorized about the links between sex and gender. Goffman (1977) proposed that individuals are “sorted” by their biological male/female bodies at birth then exposed to a “sustained sorting process whereby members of the two classes are subject to differential socialization” (303). The ideal characteristics of each “sex class” is socially constructed, and individuals “line up” their behaviors to be in accordance with the expectations (“gender”). “Sex,” Goffman wrote, is a “property of organisms” while gender is a “property of organization” (306).

In examining the “parallel organization” of gender by which “similar efforts or services, similar rights or obligations, are organized in a segregated manner,”

Goffman noted that sorting by sex

provides a ready base for the elaboration of differential treatment, these adumbrative elaborations to be seen as consonant and suitable given the claimed difference in character between the two categories (306).

Goffman (1977) furthered that as a result of “institutional reflexivity,” women’s ability to bear children and breastfeed became circumscribed in to ideas about the rights, duties and expectations of both women and men. In demarcating the boundaries between the sex classes, women were conscripted to domestic and caretaking duties, while men were assigned to public and protective duties. Social institutions socialize individuals by these standards, who, in turn, reinforce ideas about gender by embodying the expectations.

Goffman acknowledged that the arrangement of the sexes, though meant to be complementary, was, in fact, sexist. He posited that “some women” might think it so:

in the case of persons who are women, the issue is not merely that they are in a complementary position to persons who are men; the issue is that for women, this complementarity also means vulnerability and, in the feelings of some, oppression (327).

In their seminal article “Doing Gender,” West and Zimmerman (1987) agreed with much of Goffman’s (1977) propositions. They began by describing the process of leading from sex classification to “doing gender.” They explained that individuals are classified as belonging to a specific sex (either male or female) based

on “the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as male or female” (West and Zimmerman 1987:127) such as genitalia or chromosomal testing (despite not always being definitive). The available sex classifications compel individuals to be placed or claim membership in either the male or female sex category, whether or not one’s biology is in accordance (e.g., transgendered individuals who maintain membership in a sex category that is not congruent with their biological sex classification).

In a similar understanding to Goffman’s, they wrote that gender “is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category. Gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category” (West and Zimmerman 1987:127). Importantly, they argued that gender is not a feature of an individual, but rather, is “done” through interacting with others in order to demonstrate one’s belonging to a sex category (West and Zimmerman 1987).

Similar to West and Zimmerman’s (1987) conceptualization of gender as being accomplished through interaction with others, Butler (1988) theorized that gender is a performance tied to one’s biological sex. She wrote that gender is “a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief” (Butler 1988:520). As a performance or product of social interaction, enactments of gender lock individuals into the prescribed gender roles and reinforce the socially constructed male/female dichotomy. Butler (1988) described

enacting one's gender in a socially acceptable way as "strategies of survival" in a society that requires individuals to perform gender correctly and punishes those who don't.

Though an individual might choose to "do gender" in ways outside of the norm for a particular culture, he or she is always at risk for being "assessed" on his or her performance (West and Zimmerman 1987). Doing or performing gender reifies what is considered essentially masculine and/or feminine by the wider society and thereby sustains gender inequality:

If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce, and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category. If we fail to do gender appropriately, we as individuals—not the institutional arrangements—may be called to account (for our character, motives and predispositions (West and Zimmerman 1987:146).

Given the stability and near immutability of institutional arrangements regarding sex categories, Kandiyoti (1988) proposed that women engage in patriarchal bargains, or individual survival strategies and coping mechanisms employed within the confines of patriarchal gender arrangements (275). These bargains allow women to maximize their own returns within a structure that devalues them. Kandiyoti (1988) suggested that while these patriarchal bargains don't change the overarching societal structures, they do allow women to perform acts of active or passive resistance in order to gain individual power: "women become experts in maximizing their own life chances" (Kandiyoti 1988 280). In patriarchal societies

undergoing cultural or economic shifts, women may embrace more conservative ideals in order to preserve and ensure the returns promised:

when classic patriarchy enters a crisis, women may continue to use all the pressure they can muster to make men live up to their obligations and will not, except under the most extreme pressure, compromise the basis for their claims by stepping out of line and losing their respectability. Their passive resistance takes the form of claiming their half of this particular patriarchal (Kandiyoti 1988:282).

Kandiyoti (1988) concluded that identifying the patriarchal bargains engaged in by women from various social locations helps to shed light on the condition of larger societal structures. Examining these bargains can also “provide a corrective influence to ethnocentric or class-bound definitions of what constitutes a feminist consciousness” (286), expanding ideas of women’s agency, complicities and resistance in a patriarchal system.

In examining the patriarchal system in the U.S., American girls and women continue to be socialized into expressive, relational roles despite major steps toward gender equality over the past 50 years, (Adler, Kless and Adler 1992; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010; Twenge 1997). Eagly and Karau (2002) write that widely accepted gender roles for women include “communal characteristics” or those which “describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people—for example, affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturant, and gentle” (574). The societal demand that women prioritize these communal characteristics leads them to construct a self-image based on their involvement in and sense of self embedded in interpersonal relationships at the



expense of developing and valuing their own autonomy and inter-dependence (Covington and Surrey 2000; Friedman 2000).

In summary, sex and gender are implicated in all facets of social life. As we will see in the literature on women and crime, sex and gender play a significant part in the ways women begin and sustain their involvement in criminal activity, but also in the ways society views, judges and adjudicates their behavior as transgressions on the conventional sex/gender binary.

### *Defining Race*

Race has been a significant topic in sociological inquiry since the foundations of the field (Winant 2000). Though often conceived as an innate, unchangeable feature of an individual, race, like gender, is a social construct that “signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies” (Winant 2000:172). According to Omi and Winant (1994), racial categories are the result of culturally specific historical processes, or “racial projects” that define and manifest relationships between groups of people. These racial projects are “simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular race lines” (Omi and Winant 1994:56). The process of racial formation in the United States as a series of racial projects is notably demonstrated by the evolution of the race categories in the U.S. Census which reflect the political and social climate of the times and efforts to shape the distribution of resources.

In the United States, examining the race categories used in the U.S. Census reveals sociopolitical conflicts and interests with regard to classifying the human body. Early Censuses from 1790 to 1840 reflect the belief in inherent and hierarchical differences between White and African peoples in the U.S. The first Census was chiefly concerned with identifying citizens in order to determine representation in the Electoral College: free White men, women and children were counted in separate categories and each slave was counted as three-fifths of a person. Subsequent Censuses collapsed the White category, kept the slave category and added a Free Colored category, indicating the differing political experiences of Free White and Free Colored citizens (Nobles 2000). Aligning with the Social Darwinist movement of the time, the 1850-1920 Censuses focused on using science to differentiate between and categorize the races as separate species, with the White species at the top of the hierarchy.

Despite the abolition of slavery during this time frame, race scientists used the Census to collect data on the life expectancies of species “hybrids” who were assumed to be inferior to pure raced people, giving rise to the mulatto, quadroon and octoroon race categories on the Census (Nobles 2000). The identification of mixed race people based on the percentage of African heritage bolstered the idea that any drop of African blood constituted a “mixed Black” person rather than a “mixed White” person, perpetuating ideas of the inferiority of Black and mixed race people and contributing to the legal segregation of African Americans (Nobles 2000). Especially prominent in the South, race laws that defined “colored” as a

person of any African heritage (hence, the “one-drop rule”) were adopted by the Census from 1930-1960 when “mulatto” was dropped as a race category for the all-encompassing “Negro” category. During this time frame, challenges to race as a biological feature emerged as a result of ongoing challenges to race science from anthropological research, the atrocities of the Nazi experiments on Jews, and the increased economic and political participation of peoples of all races in the United States (Nobles 2000).

According to Nobles (2000), the civil rights movement changed the purpose of collecting race data in the Census. Whereas race data had previously been used to demonstrate the inferiority of African Americans and mixed race people, the abolition of segregation in U.S. institutions required race data from the Census to assist in enacting legislation for racial equality (Nobles 2000). As race categorization could now be used for expanded rights, other racial groups lobbied to change their own race categories. For example, in response to lobbying, the 1980 Census collapsed the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Korean categories along with Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, into the category “Asian Pacific Islander,” which also included anyone with origins from the Far East, Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent, giving a larger voice to one less powerful racial identified groups. Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders later successfully petitioned to be separated into their own race category, and individuals from the Indian subcontinent were reclassified as white (Jung and Almaguer 2004).

The American Sociological Association (ASA) (2003) acknowledges that while some scholars and political leaders have advocated discontinuing the use of race categories and the collection of data based on these race categories, race research remains important to revealing still-existing inequities in U.S. society:

Sociological scholarship on "race" provides scientific evidence in the current scientific and civic debate over the social consequences of the existing categorizations and perceptions of race; allows scholars to document how race shapes social ranking, access to resources, and life experiences; and advances understanding of this important dimension of social life, which in turn advances social justice. Refusing to acknowledge the fact of racial classification, feelings, and actions, and refusing to measure their consequences will not eliminate racial inequalities. At best, it will preserve the status quo.

*Considering contemporary racial inequality and racism.*

While overt forms of segregation and racism are largely denounced in contemporary society, the U.S. racial stratification system remains relatively unchanged, upheld by a "new" form of "color-blind" racism (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal and Torino 2007). Color-blind racism, named for the ideology of many in the U.S. that they "don't see color, just people," maintains that white privilege disenfranchises people of color through subtle, more indirect mechanisms than racisms of the past:

Instead of relying on name-calling (niggers, Spics, Chinks), color-blind racism otherizes softly ('these people are human, too'); instead of proclaiming God placed minorities in the world in a servile position, it suggests they are behind because they do not work hard enough; instead of viewing interracial marriage as wrong on a straight racial basis, it regards it as 'problematic' because of concerns over the children, location, or the extra burden it places on couples (Bonilla-Silva 2006:3).

Color-blind racism relies on what White (2009) identifies as “folk theories” (commonplace, everyday understandings) of race: that despite scientific evidence to the contrary, there are biological components to race (as evidenced by the use of racialized phenotypes in criminal justice forensics and the insistence of racial differences in epidemiology); that anyone can be racist if he or she speaks or acts in racialized ways, including racial minorities; and that racism will come to an end as a result of interracial marriage and reproduction. While seemingly benign, color-blind racism masks individual prejudices and institutional inequality and preserves the racial status quo by ignoring structural racism and blaming the subordinate group for both its societal position and any negative feelings about the inferior status (Bonilla-Silva 2006; White 2009).

In conclusion, I have discussed above the social construction of race, outlining the evolution of race first conceived as a biological concept to the current understanding of race as a socially constructed, highly politicized category. In my dissertation study, I suggest that the ways in which race and ethnicity have historically been socially constructed in the U.S., and the ways in which this co-varies with gender implicate women of color in unique and problematic ways. For women of color, and specifically for women who are raised or live in the Hawai‘i context and who engage in criminalized activities, their life trajectories illustrate these processes in everyday practice. In the following section, I will discuss the

sociological literature on deviance, focusing on the labeling perspective as relevant to my focus on women's involvement in criminalized conduct.

### *Defining Deviance*

Sociologically speaking, deviance is behavior that breaks from established rules, norms and practices of a group (Becker 1963; Erikson 1960). These rules, norms and practices of a group may be formal or informal, colloquial or codified in to law, strictly or loosely enforced, but all serve as forms of social control, managing the behaviors and boundaries of the group (Becker 1963; Erikson 1960). Individuals whose behaviors deviate from accepted limits are of concern to the group, and studies of deviance typically seek to understand why the deviant breaks rules and norms (Becker 1963).

Much like gender and race, early conceptualizations of crime located the propensity toward rule breaking within the individual (Merton 1938). In the late 1800s, Italian medical doctor Cesare Lombroso, influenced by Comte's positivist sociology and Darwin's theory of evolution, measured the bodies and physical features of soldiers, the insane and criminals, and theorized that crime was rooted in biology (Ellwood 1912; Wolfgang 1961). Well-accepted in his time, Lombroso posited that criminals, with their atavistic physical features, were evolutionary throwbacks, and made the case for the "born criminal" (Lombroso 1911). Early sociological examinations of deviance presupposed this biological drive and viewed deviance as a failure of social structures and controls (Merton 1938).

Durkheim (1997) postulated that deviance is a natural part of all societies, as there is no such thing as a utopian society in which everyone holds the exact same values, motivations and drives. All societies, he writes, have some natural degree of deviance, and of greater concern than any deviance whatsoever, is a change in the amount of deviance within a society (Durkheim 1995). Societies may experience such dysfunctional increases in deviance when structural changes such as economic shifts cause people to lose ties to each other and experience anomie or normlessness (Durkheim 1995).

Merton (1938) theorized that acceptance of and attempts to conform to mainstream cultural norms actually produce deviance and crime. He posited that most people in the U.S. accept cultural norms such as aspiring to economic prosperity; however, not all have access to culturally prescribed means of achieving it (Merton 1938). This schism between aspiration and achievement results in anomie, and individuals take on specific adaptations to cope with the strain of the situation. He argued that individuals may take on one of five modes of adaptation ranging from conformity (in which individuals accept both cultural goals and prescribed achievement mechanisms), through rebellion, or the rejection of goals and means of achieving them) (Merton 1938).

In a later reconsideration of Merton's theory, Agnew (2001) proposed General Strain Theory to explain high rates of adolescent delinquency in which he identifies three major sources of strain: not achieving positively valued goals (money, goods, status, or respect); the loss or threat of losing something valued

(such as the loss of a romantic partner or friend, or the theft of a valuable possession); and experiencing negative events (such as verbal or physical assaults) (Agnew 2001). Agnew (2001) posits that these three forms of strain encourage the likelihood of crime because they make people have negative emotions such as anger, fear, frustration or sadness. While the negative feelings may be temporary, people who continually experience high levels of negative treatment or strain over a period of time may engage in crime as a way of reducing this anger and strain. That is, crime may help the individual achieve positively valued goals, protect or prevent the loss of something valued or reduce negative stimuli. Crime may also be a way to get revenge when there is no way to completely eliminate the strain (Agnew 2001).

Other sociological theorizing about environmental and ecological influences on crime came out of the Chicago school of sociology. Shaw and McKay (2014) studied youth crime in urban Chicago and theorized that social disorganization, or urban conditions marked by poverty, population heterogeneity, and high rates of in- and out-migration, disintegrate community control. High rates of delinquency persist in these socially disorganized spaces despite in- and out- migration through a process of cultural transmission of criminal traditions, in which younger children learn delinquency from older delinquent youth (Shaw and McKay 2014). Also from the Chicago School with an interest in the transmittal of deviant behaviors, Sutherland (1998) postulated that criminal behavior is primarily learned through interaction in criminally oriented intimate groups wherein individuals learn both how to commit crimes and how to orient themselves towards criminal behaviors



and the laws defining the behaviors. From this perspective, Sutherland argued that those who are surrounded by others engaging in deviance and crime, while also isolated from conventional, conforming others are more likely to learn orientations more favorable to crime (Sutherland 1998). In demonstrating why his theory of differential association was able to account for more crime than poverty, Sutherland (1940) proposed an important aspect of crime and deviance. In comparing white-collar crimes to other forms of crime associated with the lower class, Sutherland (1940) writes:

The respects in which the crimes of the two classes differ are the incidentals rather than the essentials of criminality. They differ principally in the implementation of the criminal laws which apply to them. The crimes of the lower class are handled by policemen, prosecutors, and judges, with penal sanctions in the forms of fines, imprisonment, and death. The crimes of the upper class either result in no official action at all, or result in suits for damages in civil courts, or are handled by administrative boards or commissions, with penal sanctions in the form of warnings, orders to cease and desist, occasionally the loss of license, and only in extreme cases by fines or prison sentences (8).

Though not expressly addressing differential treatment of various groups in society, Sutherland (1940) makes the case that deviance committed by subordinate groups in society are dealt with more harshly. This is the position taken by theorists from the labeling perspective including Erikson (1960); Becker (1963); Lemert (1974); Schur (1984); Matsueda (1992); and Cohen (2002).

*Women's deviance: Labeling perspective.*

Erikson (1960) suggests that anomie, poverty and structural explanations for deviance may miss larger societal patterns and interactions:

The fact that deviant behavior is more common in some sectors of society than others is explained by declaring that something called 'anomie' or 'disorganization' prevails at these sensitive spots. Deviance leaks out where the social machinery is defective; it occurs where the social structure fails to communicate its needs to human actors. But if we consider the possibility that deviant persons are responding to the same social forces that elicit conformity from others, then we are engaged in another order of inquiry altogether (313).

Erikson (1960) states that rather than focusing on the conditions that might cause individual deviant behavior, "sociologists should be interested in discovering how a social unit manages to differentiate the roles of its members and how certain persons are 'chosen' to play the more deviant parts" (313). Sociologists interested in this line of inquiry developed the labeling perspective, a critical perspective that draws mainly from conflict and interactionist traditions and focuses on societal reactions to behaviors and individuals (Becker 1963; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Lemert 1974).

In the labeling perspective, deviance is understood as a socially constructed phenomenon rather than a feature of individual behavior. One of the most-cited labeling theorists (who later rejected labeling as a theory in and of itself), Becker (1963) writes: "deviance is not a quality that lies in behavior itself, but in the interactions between the person who commits the act and those who respond to it" (9). He suggests that rules serve as group boundaries, and those who fall outside of

the socially constructed perimeters are considered deviant simply by nature of societal reaction to them as opposed to an inherent individual propensity toward rule breaking. Becker (1963) encourages sociologists to examine which subgroups determine the larger group boundaries, and proposes that dominant groups with economic and political power are able to enforce their rules over others and to label those who do not comply as deviant “outsiders.” Schur expands upon this, asserting that power differentials may manifest at three different levels: collective rulemaking, organizational processing and interpersonal relationships (as cited in Paternoster and Iovanni 1989).

In collective rulemaking, the dominant group uses political and economic power to define which behaviors are considered deviant and influence the creation of rules established to negatively sanction those involved in that behavior (Paternoster and Iovanni 1989). Becker (1963) calls the push for change in laws “moral crusades.” These crusades are led by “moral entrepreneurs” who wage campaigns to shift the general public’s attitudes toward certain behaviors or laws. By this definition, the war on drugs would be considered a moral crusade (Becker 1963; Britton 2011).

At the organizational processing level, groups with less power are more likely to be labeled as deviant and treated as a greater threat by social control agencies such as the police and the courts (Paternoster and Iovanni 1989). This may be true for people of lower socioeconomic status, people of color, women, youth, people with mental health issues and others (Cohen 2002; Markowitz 1998;

Paternoster and Iovanni 1989; Rosenfield 1997; Schur 1984). In 1972, Cohen (2002) made famous the term “moral panic” to describe the process by which “a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerge to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (1). He argues that there is a “gallery of types that society erects to show its members which roles should be avoided” (Cohen 2002:2) and labels these “folk devils.” In Cohen’s configuration, the media plays an integral part of creating and perpetuating moral panics, creating folk devils out of marginalized groups and reinforcing the dominant ideology (Cohen 2002). The ways in which moral panics are linked to folk devils is related to Schur’s third level of power differentials, the interpersonal relationship (as cited in Paternoster and Iovanni 1989).

At the interpersonal level, everyday interactions between stigmatized and non-stigmatized individuals may result in notable “bargaining over labels” (Paternoster and Iovanni 1989:362). These everyday interactions may create the status of folk devil via a process of “behavior amplification”, or what Lemert (1974) terms “secondary deviance” by which an individual, treated as deviant, accepts the label and acts out the societal expectations:

An initial act of deviance, or normative diversity (for example, in dress) is defined as being worthy of attention and is responded to punitively. The deviant or group of deviants is segregated or isolated and this operates to alienate them from conventional society. They perceive themselves as more deviant, group themselves with others in a similar position, and this leads to more deviance. This, in turn, exposes the group to further punitive sanctions and other forceful action by the conformists—and the system starts going round again (Cohen 2002:12).

Becker (1963) suggests that this process is especially salient when the labels are generated by significant others as opposed to social control agents (such as the police, the courts) that an individual has little regard for.

Empirical studies have shown that some types of labeling (parental, criminal convictions) have greater effects on deviance amplification than others (Bernburg, Krohn, and Rivera 2006; Farrington 1977; Paternoster and Iovanni 1989; Matsueda 1992). These mixed findings have led some to dismiss the utility of the labeling perspective for empirically examining crime and deviance (Akers 1968; Davis 1972; Gove and Fain 1973). While there have been attempts to configure labeling models for empirical testing (Bernburg, Krohn, and Rivera 2006; Paternoster and Iovanni 1992; Matsueda 1992), some of the original names in the labeling viewpoint have responded by drawing our attention to the larger aims of the perspective. Becker (1963) posits that “it would be foolish to propose that stick-up men stick people up simply because someone has labelled them stick-up men” (179). He furthers that what is important about the labeling perspective is the focus that it allows social scientists to pay to “the way labelling places the actor in circumstances which make it harder for him to continue the normal routines of everyday life and thus provoke him to ‘abnormal’ actions (179).

Cohen (2002) further elaborates that examining deviance from a societal reaction standpoint “allows us to identify and conceptualize the lines of power in any society, the ways we are manipulated into taking some things too seriously and

other things not seriously enough” (Cohen 2002:xliv). Glassner (2009) writes that the U.S. populace is easily swayed to fear and that great power and money “await those who tap into our moral insecurities and supply us with symbolic substitutes” (xxxvi).

In the section above, I have aimed to describe theoretical moves away from locating criminality within the biological makeup of individuals, citing those sociologists who argue for structural explanations for deviations from formal and informal group norms. Sociologists from the Chicago school sought to pinpoint structural dysfunctions that encouraged deviance, while later interactionists challenged sociologists to examine deviance from a more critical perspective. While the labeling perspective has been critiqued for its lack of a definitive model for empirical testing, the overarching utility of the perspective is its examination of power in society as it relates specifically to deviance. It is this set of critical standpoints that I pursued in my study of the criminalization of women in Hawaii.

#### *Theorizing Women’s Crime and Incarceration*

In this section, I will discuss the literature on women and crime beginning with a discussion of feminist pathway perspectives about women’s incarceration. I then discuss how women, especially women of color, have been labeled and treated as dangerous persons in the American socio-historical context.

##### *Pathways theory.*

In the dearth of gender-specific theories of deviance and crime, the feminist pathways perspective emerged to provide a powerful examination of the lives of

criminalized women. Borrowing from the life course-course perspective which examines childhood experiences and the formation of adult bonds which serve as a form of social control (Sampson and Laub 1990, 1993), pathways perspective focuses on identifying women's life experiences leading up to crime commission and incarceration, and positioning these experiences within wider social conditions (Chesney-Lind 1989; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2013; Belknap 2000; Owen 2003). Belknap and Holsinger (2006) argue that this perspective allows for an understanding of female criminal behaviors as contextualized by "a variety of sources--socialized gender roles, structural oppression, vulnerability to abuse from males, and female responses to domination" (51). Research on women's pathways into crime and incarceration has suggested that there are gender-specific relationships between structural oppression, victimization, poverty, and offending such that:

the process of criminalization for women is indeed intricately connected to women's subordinate position in society where victimization by violence coupled with economic marginality related to race, class, and gender all too often blur the boundaries between victims and offenders (Gilfus 1992:13).

This blurred boundary between victimization and offending has been repeatedly demonstrated in studies of female offenders (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Brennan, Breitenbach et al. 2012; Chesney-Lind 1997; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Daly 1994; DeHart 2004; DeHart 2008; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Gilfus 1992; Herrera and McCloskey 2000; Joe and Chesney-Lind 1995; Molnar, Browne, Cerda, and Buka 2005). Studies have shown that violent girls are significantly more likely to have

been physically and sexually abused than non-violent girls and both violent and non-violent boys (Artz 1999; Molnar, Browne, Cerda, and Buka 2005). It has been noted, however, that amongst children who have been abused, boys tend to engage in antisocial activities while still in childhood, whereas girls tend to follow the “delayed-onset pathway,” engaging in antisocial behaviors later in adolescence (Lee, Herrenkohl, Jung, Skinner, and Klika 2015; Silverthorn and Frick 1999). These abused and neglected girls are more likely to be arrested as juveniles than boys with the same histories (Herrera and McCloskey 2000; Miller, Trapani, Fejes-Mendoza, and Eggleston 1995; Pasko and Chesney-Lind 2010; Widom 2000; Molnar, Browne, Cerda, and Buka 2005). The juvenile justice system is also more likely to criminalize and punish girls for their coping strategies such as running away, substance abuse and truancy, though couched in paternalistic “protection” of the girls (Pasko and Chesney-Lind 2010). The blurred boundary between victimization and offending extends from adolescence to adulthood. Studies of incarcerated women have consistently found histories of abuse and victimization (Batchelor 2005; Daly 1992; DeHart 2004; DeHart 2008; Gehring 2016; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2005; Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan 2008; Wright, Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2007).

In order to better understand the relationship between early victimization and later criminalization and incarceration, emerged the identification of gendered pathways to crime commission and incarceration. Daly’s (1992) seminal study used data from a “deep sample” of 40 women’s biographical data from presentence investigation reports and identified four major pathways that linked early childhood



abuse and criminalization to adult incarceration: the “street woman scenario,” in which young women leave abusive childhood homes for the streets where they fall into a cycle of drug use and low-level crime to support their addictions; “harmed and harming women,” or women who respond to childhood abuse with violence and substance abuse; “battered women” who are in or recently left an abusive intimate relationship at the time of their incarceration; and “drug-connected women,” who begin using and selling drugs in their adulthood, often as a result of entering into a relationship with a drug-connected man (Daly 1992). Additionally, Daly (1992) noted that there was a subset of “other” women offenders whose trajectories did not seem to fit into any of the above categories, but identified a desire or need for money financial gain as their main motivation to commit crime. Daly’s identification of the pathways model emphasized the importance of sequencing events that led to women’s engagement in criminalized behaviors and incarceration and influenced much future work on women’s pathways to crime and incarceration. The subsequent research has provided both qualitative and quantitative support for gender-specific pathways to crime and incarceration.

In their analysis of the life histories of 351 women held in the Baltimore Detention Center, Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan (2008) found significant support for the pathway perspective with regard to harmed and harming women, drug-connected women and battered women. Additionally, they found that the risk factors for crime commission varied by the age at which women first reported they committed a crime (Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan 2008). In addition to the delayed-

onset pathway noted by previous studies, Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan (2008) found that 54% of the women committed their first crime in adulthood (103). Despite mostly conventional lifestyles that included marriage and having mainly non-criminal friends, the adult-onset of crime group reported high rates of violent victimization in adulthood (103). This finding highlights some of the key differences between women's and men's pathways to crime commission and incarceration. While marriage has been found to mark an end to men's criminal offending, "women's criminality is often directly tied to a 'bad' man" (Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan 2008:104).

In an effort to expand the understanding of the gendered pathways model, Brennan et al. (2012) analyzed the criminal histories and re-entry assessments of over 718 women incarcerated in California. They found support for eight pathways to crime that "nested" into four broad pathways to incarceration for women. These larger pathways included "normal functioning" drug/property offenders, battered women/victimization pathways, poor marginalized socialized offenders in antisocial subcultures and antisocial aggressive women offenders (Brennan et al. 2012). Their findings provided support for a gendered pathways model and expanded on the specific trajectories for women's engagement in criminalized behaviors. In their findings, Brennan et al. (2012) found significant relationships between gendered experiences, drug use and mental health issues.

Gehring (2016) also found support for the pathways model and link between victimization and drug and mental health issues. In a quantitative analysis using

pretrial failure rather than incarceration as the dependent variable, Gehring (2016) found that childhood abuse led to the development of mental health issues which contributed to substance abuse which was linked to negative pretrial outcomes (failure to appear for court date or incurring a new arrest). Gehring (2016) concluded that these findings bolstered the pathways theory by implementing and operationalizing the model using different outcome variables.

Though a smaller body of literature, scholars have also taken an intersectional approach to the pathways model, deepening the understanding of the criminalization of girls and women of color. Drawing from data gathered from focus groups of incarcerated girls and professionals who worked with the girls, as well as data from a self-reported survey of the girls, Holsinger and Holsinger (2005) found significant differences between the white and African American girls in their study. They found that the white girls reported higher levels of familial abuse (90 percent vs 70 percent) and greater internalization of this abuse, resulting in higher levels of self-critical attitudes, lower levels of self-esteem, higher levels of drug use and more mental health issues. Family disruption, however, had a greater adverse effect on the African American girls and overall delinquency amongst African American girls was predicted by drug use (Holsinger and Holsinger 2005). While they dubiously concluded:

African American girls are socialized to be self-reliant and independent, they may be more likely to act in stronger, more assertive ways. As a result of gaining more stereotypically masculine traits, they have a higher self esteem and fewer mental health issues. Conversely, the White girls are raised to be

dependent and accepting of feminine gender roles. They emerge with greater tendencies for internalization of problems. This response may lead to more self-critical attitudes, lower self-esteem and more mental health issues

these findings point to the need to examine the gendered pathways model as contextualized by race and ethnicity.

Feminist African American scholars Arnold (1990, 1994) and Richie (1996) drew connections between girlhood experiences and adulthood experiences, linking juvenile delinquency with adult crime commission and incarceration amongst African American women. Arnold (1994) described a “process of criminalization” that results from the intersection of gender, race and class oppressions. She suggested that African American girls fall under the gaze of a victim-blaming criminal justice system, which criminalizes their acts of resistance and “magnifies the relationship between victimization and entrapment in the criminal justice system” (Arnold 1994:171). Many of the women in Arnold’s (1994) study were structurally dislocated from the two main socializing institutions of family and the education system. Women reported running away from home due to sexual abuse by a male family member. As a result of racial oppression in the education system (one woman in the study recalled a teacher who told the class that he ““didn’t like Black people”” (178)), those without familial support often left school. In order to support themselves, the women in Arnold’s (1994) study turned to petty theft or prostitution, propelling them down the pathway to sustained criminal involvement (178). Arnold (1994) noted that many of the race oppressions overlapped with class

oppressions due to the high level of poverty in urban African American communities.

Richie (1996) interviewed battered African American women at Riker's Island on issues of race, crime victimization and perpetration and found specific gendered and raced pathways to crime commission and incarceration. Richie (1996) found that African American women who had been highly esteemed in their childhood families and felt a deep connection with their racial/ethnic group were more vulnerable to male intimate partner violence, as these women tended to feel responsible for protecting their families and partners from institutional racism. This "gender entrapment" reduced the women's abilities to seek help or report battering to the authorities and left them caught in abusive and violent relationships. Despite their childhood aspirations for conventional ideals of romance, the women in Richie's study were more susceptible to intimate partner violence, which in turn, led them down one of six paths to crime commission and incarceration: being complicit in the killing of their children by abusive partners; committing projected violence against men who symbolized past abusive intimate and familial relationships; engaging in sex work, often the result of sexual abuse histories; committing crimes such as arson, property damage or assault in retaliation against a battering partner; engaging in property crimes and other illegal activities to supplement a meager income, most often as the result of force or coercion by abusive partners; and engaging in drug crimes, often stemming from addiction used as a coping mechanism (Richie 1996).

Just as U.S. social structures have specific implications for criminalizing African American, so too, do they operate in particular ways upon Native American women. Ross (1998) wrote that colonization and the imposed social structures suppressed Native culture and criminalized all Native Americans, with specific consequences for Native women. Upon claiming sovereignty over Native peoples and lands and replacing Native judicial systems with Western laws, the U.S. government constructed the deviant and criminal Native Americans (Ross 1998). This had specific consequences for Native American women who, like many non-Native women, experience sexual, physical and institutional abuse and who cope with these forms of violence in ways that have been criminalized (substance abuse, retaliatory violence, etc.).

Ross (1998) argued that the colonized status of Native American women has left them among the most powerless people in the U.S., more likely to be incarcerated than white women, and if a resident of a reservation, most likely to be incarcerated in a federal prison (90). While the individual pathways to incarceration for Native American women are similar to other non-Native women, Ross (1998) wrote that the historical context of Native women's lives cannot be overlooked.

In the previous section, I have discussed the literature on women and crime, beginning with an overview of women's incarceration and crime statistics in the U.S. followed by a discussion of the pathway theory. In the next section, I will address gender, race/ethnicity and deviance in the Hawai'i context.

### *Considering the Hawai'i Context*

Hawai'i, the fiftieth state admitted to the union and the furthest from the 48 contiguous United States, has a unique history and social context. It is estimated that the first Polynesian voyagers reached the Hawaiian island chain by 800 A.D., bringing with them many of the plants and animals that became the basis of the labor and class divisions in the ancient culture (Vitousek et al. 2004). Following Captain James Cook's arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, Native Hawaiian livelihood shifted from what has been described as a feudalistic subsistence living (including farming, fishing, craftsmanship and cultivation) to participation in the capitalist trade system (Ralston 1984; Rosa 2004).

With the introduction of desired foreign goods such as guns, iron, cloth and other luxury items by whalers, explorers and merchants, early trading was restricted to the ali'i (ruling class) who could requisition the desired goods, or demand items for trade from the maka'āinana (commoners) (Merry 2000; Ralston 1984). In the early 1800s, China's willingness to trade for Hawaiian sandalwood caused the ali'i (royalty) to send the maka'āinana to clear forests despite a population decreased by foreign-brought diseases and food shortages (Merry 2000). As ali'i debt to foreign merchants grew, they increased pressure on maka'āinana to produce wealth, surplus food and pay taxes. As a result, the maka'āinana found ways to circumvent the ali'i prohibitions on individual trade and wealth accumulation and began to engage in the capitalist system by trading goods, working on ships and providing sexual services (Merry 2000). This resulted in weakened ties to the ali'i

who had previously been considered benevolent descendants of the gods, allowing for the capitalists to engage the maka'āinana in direct trade (Merry 2000; Ralston 1984).

As the bonds between maka'āinana and ali'i weakened, Protestant missionaries came to Hawai'i emphasizing individual land ownership as a means of increasing industriousness and of protecting the eviction of maka'āinana by the ali'i (Linnekin 1987; Merry 2000). Individual land ownership appealed to the ali'i who desired more clearly defined boundaries of their wealth. Between 1848 and 1855, the land division known as the Māhele allowed ali'i, naturalized and non-naturalized foreigners to acquire large expanses of land, but left many maka'āinana landless, as their labors were not paid in cash (Linnekin 1987; Ralston 1984). This ownership of land by foreigners allowed for the rise of the sugar industry and subsequent importation of Asian workers, and ultimately the colonization and end of the sovereign Hawaiian nation.

Today, Hawai'i is home to almost 1.4 million people (U.S. Census 2012), the majority of whom live on O'ahu. The racial composition of Hawai'i reflects this unique history of colonization and immigration. Asian Americans represent the largest population group in Hawaii, at 38.3% (U.S. Census 2012). The next largest group is comprised of those belonging to two or more races (23%), which represents only 2.4% of the U.S. population as a whole. Non-Hispanic whites comprise 22.8% of Hawai'i's population, followed by Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders who are 10.1% of the population (U.S. Census 2012). Finally,



Hispanic or Latinos represent 9.5%, African Americans 2.1%, and American Indian and Alaska Natives 0.4% of Hawai'i's total population (U.S. Census 2012).

Correlating to the unique racial composition of Hawai'i, 47% of the businesses are Asian-owned, and another 9% of firms are Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander owned (Census 2012).

*Examining gender in the Hawai'i context.*

Hawai'i's history has shaped gender in unique ways. Gender relations in ancient Hawai'i have been described as "gender parallel," that is, separate and complementary rather than separate and subordinate (Linnekin 1990). In pre-colonization Hawai'i, a kapu (taboo) system existed to separate the sexes and other statuses (royalty and commoners). Women were forbidden to eat certain foods, prohibited from engaging in rituals in heiau (temples), and secluded in a separate house (hale pe'a) during their menstrual periods (Linnekin 1990). These kapu, however, were subverted at times and suspended for various reasons such as a transfer of power between chiefs, indicating a fluidity in the conceptualization of the separation of the sexes (Linnekin 1990). Women in ancient Hawai'i were esteemed and seen as an integral part of the social structure as indicated by their ability to hold high rank, produce culturally important artifacts, and exercise the agency afforded them regarding sexuality.

Upon the arrival of the missionaries, attempts were made to change the prevailing Hawaiian gender dynamic to reflect a Western model of the male/female dichotomy. Missionary women often focused their attention on indoctrinating

Native Hawaiian women into the “cult of true womanhood,” attempting to create and reinforce women’s roles solely in the domestic sphere and to control Native Hawaiian sexuality (Grimshaw 1985). Though some Native Hawaiian women conformed to these new gender roles, many did not, as the gender roles prescribed by the “cult of domesticity” were based on an economic organization which, in a colonized context, was inaccessible to indigenous Hawaiians who were largely kept out of the introduced capitalist economy (Linnekin 1990):

The male breadwinner, the independent artisan, the small farmer, the wage earner, supporting a wife and family in modest but independent comfort, was a dream that faded before it could emerge. Eventually large plantations and businesses emerged headed by foreign capitalists, employing non-Hawaiian labor for the most part. The bulk of Hawaiians remained outside of the prosperity of this new Hawai'i. The relative affluence of Hawaiian families, the gender division of labor in western style, desired by the Americans, remained elusive goals. It was no wonder that western cultural constructs of gender characteristics proved unattainable (Linnekin 1990:12).

In addition to the failure to wholly induct Native Hawaiian women into the cult of domesticity, racial and ethnic relations shifted as ethnic Asian women immigrated to work on the plantations.

Following the initial arrival of Asian men as the first contract laborers in sugar and pineapple, Hawaii’s new economy, Asian women were “sent for” as picture brides and lower paid plantation laborers. The Chinese arrived first followed by the Japanese, then Koreans. Each group was sought as a new source of labor once concerns emerged regarding the previous wave of workers (Chinese Exclusion Act,

fear that Hawai'i-born children would be allowed to buy land for their parents, etc.). Filipinos came to Hawai'i as citizens, as the Philippines was a U.S. territory, though Filipino women didn't follow the men as quickly to Hawai'i—not arriving until after World War I. The Tyding-McDuffie Act of 1934 restricted the entry of Filipinos into the United States to fifty persons a year (Fan 1996). The act also changed the status of Filipinos from American nationals to alien immigrants (Fan 1996). Filipinos who could afford it, however, continued to immigrate to Hawai'i after 1934 (Fan 1996)

Asian immigrant women suffered from the multiple oppressions of gender, race, and class as many married men twice their age, were widowed early, and were left to raise young children by themselves. Separation from the traditional structures of their home countries, first-time participation in the labor force while also caring for their families required ethnic Asian women access to power, if not dominance, in their own homes (Blair 1998). This translated to increased participation in the public sphere, especially when considering political power: the Hawai'i territorial senate passed the Hawai'i Equal Suffrage Bill in 1917 followed by the territorial House Judiciary Committee's unanimous passage of a woman's suffrage bill in 1919. Hawai'i was the first state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, has had two female lieutenant governors of Asian descent, and the state constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex (Blair 1998).

Despite the seeming equal status of women in Hawai'i, the 2009 Hawai'i Health Survey found that women make up a slight majority of the state population (50.3% to 49.7) but also have higher rates of cancer, hypertension and diabetes. The

detrimental effects of poverty on women's health include malnutrition, overwork and the inability to afford medical expenses. In 2002, 14.4 percent of women and 10.8 percent of men aged 18 and older were living with incomes 150 percent below the Federal poverty level. Women aged 65 and older and younger women aged 18-24 are at the highest risk for living below the poverty level, while women aged 45-64 have a lower poverty rate (10.9 percent). Among selected household types, women heading households with no spouse have the highest rates of poverty (24.9 percent), followed by females living alone (17.6 percent). The poverty rate for women living in married couple families is much lower (10.2 percent) (Kapi'olani Women's Center 2004).

*Examining race and ethnicity in the Hawai'i context.*

Hawai'i's racial composition and cultural milieu is vastly different than that of the continental U.S. The largest racial group in Hawai'i is Asian, comprising 38.5% of the population (compared to 5% of the population on the continent), followed by White (26% as compared to 78%), two or more races (22.9%, 2.3%), Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander (10%, 0.2%) (United States Census Bureau 2012). Unlike the U.S. mainland, people in Hawai'i more frequently discuss racial differences in terms of ethnicity and culture. Argued local race/ethnicity scholar, Okamura (2008):

people in Hawai'i attribute greater social significance to the presumed cultural differences that distinguish groups from one another than to their phenotypic differences such as skin color. As ethnic groups, they are believed to differ culturally in terms of their respective values, practices, beliefs, and

customs, although these differences have diminished markedly over the generations (6)

These ethnic and cultural differences are largely seen as the basis for inequality between the groups:

ethnicity--particularly ethnic identity--signifies difference among ethnic groups that hold unequal status in the social structure of Hawai'i society. In this sense, ethnic difference demarcates or frames inequality; that is, socioeconomic inequality in Hawai'i is understood predominantly as ethnic inequality because ethnicity is the primary structural principle of social relations (Okamura 2008:5).

#### *Defining "local."*

In Hawai'i, people born and raised in the islands often refer to themselves as "local." Defining what local is and who may call themselves local is the subject of many discussions, both academic and practical. Okamura (1980) writes that local culture in Hawai'i began to take shape upon the arrival of New England missionaries who brought with them American values, beliefs, norms and practices that were subsequently integrated in to the existing Hawaiian social structures (Okamura 1980:120). Each successive wave of ethnic group arrival forced accommodation on the part of the existing Hawai'i milieu:

Accommodation essentially refers to the adaptations that each ethnic group, either incoming or already settled, made in its initial and evolving relations with the other groups in Hawai'i society. Simply stated, adaptation for each of the groups involved modification of certain of its cultural elements or adoption of new elements to meet the demands and conditions of the new social environment, which for virtually all of the immigrant groups was the plantation. (Okamura 1980, p.124)

Today, the term “local” is commonly used to refer to people born and raised in Hawai‘i, especially those with roots in the plantation economy. The term “Hawaiian” is increasingly reserved for those with indigenous genealogy (Okamura 1980), as are the terms “Native Hawaiian” and Kanaka Maoli. The term “local,” though it is generally used to indicate simply being born and raised in Hawai‘i, has much greater symbolism for those who identify as local. Localness, local culture and being local, is an indication of experiencing, understanding, and appreciating the shared history, values and norms of Hawai‘i, and also indicates a right to have a say in the future of Hawai‘i (Okamura 1980). As such, groups and individuals new to Hawai‘i are often kept out of the “local” identity. This is especially true of white, or haole, individuals, who are also perpetually kept out of the “local” groupings regardless of the length of time s/he has lived in Hawai‘i.

Rohr (2010) argues that local identity and culture is rooted in the “amalgamation of Kanaka Maoli culture with those immigrant groups brought to labor in the sugarcane and pineapple fields. These include Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Portuguese and Samoan immigrants” (33). Local, she wrote, is the result of the “incorporation of Hawaiian culture and resistance to haole [white] hegemony” (33). Thus, Rohr posits that there are three racial/ethnic groupings in Hawai‘i: Native Hawaiian, local and haole. These three categories, she argues, exist as a result of the other: “there could be no local without incorporation of certain elements of Hawaiian culture and resistance to haole hegemony. There could be no white colonizer without a racialized native” (33). Importantly, Rohr distinguishes

between Native Hawaiian and local constructions of whiteness: “While there is increasing overlap between them, Hawaiian constructions focus on haole as colonizer, whereas local constructions originate in the experience of haole as plantation owner and oligarch” (35). In Rohr’s conceptualization, therefore, haoles will never be “local” and non-Native Hawaiian locals will never be Native Hawaiian.

While the term “local” has colloquially referred to people of Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Asian descent or of mixed heritage, Native Hawaiian activist and scholar Trask (2008) argues that the use of the term “local” by non-Native Hawaiians is offensive and serves to perpetuate the disenfranchisement of indigenous Hawaiians. She writes that Hawai‘i is better described as a settler society and that non-Natives who cast themselves as “local” uphold and benefit from the dominant U.S. ideology at the expense of indigenous Hawaiians:

Our Native people and territories have been overrun by non-Natives, including Asians. Calling themselves “local,” the children of Asian settlers greatly outnumber us. They claim Hawai‘i as their own, denying indigenous history, their long collaboration in our continued dispossession, and the benefits therefrom. Part of this denial is the substitution of the term “local” from “immigrant,” which is, itself, a particularly celebrated American gloss for “settler (46).

Trask (2008) asserts that the descendants of the Asian plantation workers benefited from the “bootstrap” ideology of the U.S. and then moved into positions of power within the very system that had once oppressed them. Those Asian Americans who were born and raised in Hawai‘i are now part of the dominant class in the islands,

politically enfranchised and wielding power in a land to which they are not indigenous:

The ideology weaves a story of success: poor Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino settlers supplied the labor for the wealthy, white sugar planters during the long period of the Territory (1900-1959). Exploitative plantation conditions thus underpin a master narrative of hard work and the endlessly celebrated triumph over anti-Asian racism. Settler children, ever industrious and deserving, obtain technical and liberal educations, thereby learning the political system through which they agitate for full voting rights as American citizens. Politically, the vehicle for Asian ascendancy is statehood. As a majority of voters at mid-century, the Japanese and other Asians move into the middle class and eventually into seats of power in the legislature and the governor's house (47)

*Theorizing women's crime and incarceration in Hawai'i.*

Research on women's pathways to crime commission and incarceration in Hawai'i has found much support for the street woman scenario. Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez (1983) conducted in-depth interviews with sixteen of the twenty-two female long-term inmates at the Oahu Community Correctional Center, which, at the time, was the only facility in the state for female offenders (5). The authors found that despite conventional life aspirations of marriage, families and careers, the majority of the incarcerated women they interviewed revealed early exposure to family violence and sexual abuse. This victimization often led to the women engaging in behaviors that would ensure their survival, but that are criminalized: committing status offenses such as truancy and running away to protect themselves from abuse, engaging in prostitution for economic survival (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983). While this study did not specifically look at the racialized



experiences of the women involved, more recent studies have revealed how the overlapping experiences of gender and race oppression have specific consequences for Native Hawaiian women incarcerated in Hawai'i.

In 2005, Yuen, Hu and Engel (2005) conducted interviews with 51 women incarcerated at Matlock Hale, a work-furlough program for women with less than two years to serve on their sentences (101). Their interviews consisted of both open and closed questions, and results were quantified to statistically compare the life histories of Native Hawaiian and non-Native Hawaiian women. Yuen, Hu and Engel (2005) found very few significant differences between the two groups, and their results also support the street woman scenario. The authors found that both Native Hawaiian and non-Native Hawaiian women experienced high rates of trauma in their childhood, and often experienced multiple traumas including: home violence, placement in foster care, sexual abuse, running away from home, dropping out of school, and teen pregnancy and experienced further trauma, especially domestic violence and homelessness, in their adulthood (Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005:105). Native Hawaiian women were found to experience negative life events earlier in their lives, suggesting that there may be an age/race component similar to that found by Simpson, Yahner, and Dugan (2008), though the authors offer no explanations as to how early abuse might differentially affect Native Hawaiian women.

Similarly, in her study of female parolees in the state of Hawai'i, Brown (2006) gave one example supporting Daly's (1992) "drug-connected" woman

pathway, but concluded overall that the street woman scenario best fit women's pathways to crime and incarceration. She reported that most of the women she interviewed experienced high rates of early childhood abuse, drug use, low education levels and motherhood, and were arrested for low-level drug and property crimes. Brown (2006) did find race differences in the life events and trajectories of women's engagement in crime. She found that Native Hawaiian women experienced negative life experiences earlier than non-Native Hawaiian women and began committing crimes earlier in their lives, had greater risk of recidivism, and were more likely to be returned to prison for parole violations. As Arnold (1994) concluded about incarcerated African American women and Ross (1998) concluded about Native American women, Brown (2006) attributed the race difference to "structural factors, shaped by historical and cultural change, [that] have made it more likely that women of Hawaiian ancestry will come under the gaze of the law" (Brown 2006:154). She noted that Native Hawaiian women cited specific life difficulties associated with being a member of a colonized indigenous culture, including lack of access to resources designated for Native Hawaiians by the state and forced dissociation with Native Hawaiian spirituality through derision and belittling that were related to their engagement in crime (Brown 2006).

Research on women incarcerated in Hawai'i has affirmed the street woman model as the leading pathway to crime commission and incarceration (Brown 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1986; Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005), suggesting that women in Hawai'i experience similar gender oppressions as women in other

studies. While this is a promising starting place for understanding women's engagement in criminalized behaviors and incarceration in Hawai'i, findings from both Brown's (2006) and Yuen, Hu and Engel's (2005) studies suggest that there may be nuances or possibly alternatives to the street woman scenario in the socio-cultural context of Hawai'i. This is especially evident in their findings that Native Hawaiian women have unique life experiences and interactions with the criminal justice system.

As Arnold (1994), Richie (1996) and Ross (1998) suggest, women's involvement in criminalized activities and their subsequent incarceration must also be contextualized by race/ ethnicity, social class and other considerations. Finally Keahiolalo-Karasuda (2007, 2009) links the phenomenon of mass incarceration of Native Hawaiians to colonialism and the ongoing neocolonial quest to economically and politically subjugate the indigenous people of Hawai'i. According to Keahiolalo-Karasuda (2007): "Systematic vilification through past and present drug crusades has had parallel outcomes whereby Hawaiians are disenfranchised, exploited and banished from family, community, and politics" (Keahiolalo-Karasuda 2007: 340). The political context of women's incarceration in Hawai'i, therefore, indicates the need for greater feminist research at the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity.

CHAPTER III  
RESEARCH METHODS:  
TALKING WITH INCARCERATED WOMEN

Conducting research with incarcerated individuals is a notably difficult, multi-layered endeavor marked by the need to gain both external and internal authorizations (Patenaude 2004; Wakai, Shelton, Trestman, and Kesten 2009). Since the 1970's when legislation ended the decades-long practice of relatively unregulated medical and pharmaceutical tests on U.S. prisoners, the process of Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for studies with protected classes has provided an external layer of oversight for vulnerable populations from exploitative research (Hornblum 1997). Gaining IRB approval is "a necessary but challenging obstacle for researchers working in corrections" (Wakai, Shelton, Trestman, and Kesten 2009:744) because it requires several layers of permission from the corrections system including program directors, wardens and directors of public safety (Patenaude 2006; Wakai, Shelton, Trestman, and Kesten 2009).

*Semi-Structured Interviewing*

As my research focused on women's own experiences and world-views, I employed semi-structured interviews as the data-gathering method. Semi-structured interviewing is associated with phenomenology or the "interest in understanding social phenomena from the actors' own perspectives and describing the world as experienced by the subjects, with the assumption that the important

reality is what people perceive it to be” (Kvale and Brinkman 2009:26). Interviews conducted from this perspective are concerned with: uncovering the worldview of the study participants; interpreting the meaning of major life-events discussed by the participants; qualitatively explained experiences rather than the quantification of experiences; detailed and distinctive descriptions of participants’ lives; specific sequences of life-events rather than opinions; a deliberate attempt on the part of the interviewer to remain open to new phenomena as opposed to a priori codes, categories and interpretations; focus on guiding themes; openness to contradictory statements by participants; the potentially transformative, positive power of the interview process; and an understanding of the ways in which interviewer and participant create knowledge together (Kvale and Brinkman 2009). As such, semi-structured interviews consist of open-ended questions, often organized in themes constructed by the researcher ahead of time (Kvale and Brinkman 2009).

Throughout the semi-structured interview process, the interviewer and participants interact with each other, finding conversational directions to probe and attend to that may be particular to that interview (Reinharz 1992). While the information produced using semi-structured interviews is non-standardized, this process allows the researcher to find variability in experiences (Reinharz 1992). Semi-structured interviewing is, therefore, conducive to uncovering similarities and differences in the life experiences of criminalized women. Utilizing this data-gathering method allowed me to better understand the process and experience of criminalization from the participants’ perspectives.

### *Recruiting and Interviewing the Residents*

My study was approved by the UH Program in Human Studies in 2011 (#20053) (see Appendix 1). Beginning in 2010 when I first reached out to the executive director of the women's work furlough program in urban Honolulu, I offered to volunteer for the program where I was trained as a volunteer and assisted the executive director with various administrative endeavors and later as a life skills class teacher. The life skills class was a series of five sessions required for the women to gain privileges within the program. The program provided a curriculum which I was allowed to modify and 5-12 residents attended each session conducted at the site. As a result of teaching these classes, I was able to get to know both the residents and the staff on a more personal level. The rapport we built allowed me to more easily recruit informants for my study, one of the challenges of research with incarcerated populations noted by Patenaude (2004).

I worked with the executive director to notify residents and staff of my research plans. The program offered participation in this study as one way to gain community service credits, which residents acquired in order to gain more privileges within the program. It was made very clear that this study was not a mandatory part of their programming, and that there were other ways in which they could earn community service credits. Several women signed up for interview times immediately. Other women signed up for interviews upon completing the life skills class series, perhaps feeling more comfortable in the idea of sharing their stories with me.

Though this study focused on local women, I opened up the interviews to all of the women at the work furlough site, regardless of where they were born and raised. I completed twenty interviews, but used the data from sixteen interviews for the purpose of this analysis. The data from the other four interviews (two African American and two Caucasian women not or born raised in Hawai'i) was excluded from this analysis.

In order to meet the research objectives of this study, I designed an interview guide based on five themes: neighborhood, family, school, early criminalization and institutionalized criminalization (see Appendix 5). I chose these themes to be loosely chronological and to examine individual experiences within broader social and institutional structures. With each theme, I hoped to touch upon gender and ethnocultural experiences.

Each of the interviews was conducted at field site and completed over a two-month period between December 2014 and February 2015. They lasted between 45 minutes and two hours. Each interview was digitally recorded and later transcribed.

### *The Women in the Study*

The participants in this study were women who were born and/ or raised in Hawai'i and who were participants in a work-furlough program for incarcerated women located on the island of Oahu. Table 1 provides an overview of each study participant. All names are pseudonyms and all the attending data was self-reported.

<b>Name**</b>	<b>Race/ Ethnicity</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Previous Employment</b>	<b>Charges</b>
<b>Anuhe</b>	Native Hawaiian	53	Some college	Divorced	4	State employee	Theft
<b>Erica</b>	Native Hawaiian	45	AA degree	Divorced	5	Non-profit	Theft II
<b>Mele</b>	Native Hawaiian	58	<High school	Divorced	3	Caretaker	Possession and Promoting (Methamphetamine)
<b>Tommy</b>	Native Hawaiian	57	<High School	Single	None	Store Clerk	Methamphetamine trafficking in the second degree
<b>Pumehana</b>	Native Hawaiian	44	GED	Divorced	4	Office Assistant	Identity theft
<b>Megan</b>	Native Hawaiian	37	GED/ Voc-tech Certificate	Single	None	Caretaker	Theft II
<b>Alohilani</b>	Native Hawaiian	43	GED/ Voc-tech Certificate	Divorced	4	Health Care Industry	Theft II/ Keeping Confidential Information
<b>Yvette</b>	Native Hawaiian	46	Some College	Divorced	4	Food Service	Stolen automobile
<b>Tina</b>	Native Hawaiian	32	< High School	Single	5	N/A	Theft
<b>Sandy</b>	Japanese/ Caucasian	43	Some College	Married (second marriage)	4	N/A	Burglary
<b>Jackie</b>	Filipino/ Caucasian / Puerto Rican	34	Some College	Single	2	Small business employee	Assault
<b>Michelle</b>	Japanese	26	GED	Married	None	Food service	Drug Possession
<b>Sam</b>	Other Asian	31	GED	Single	2	N/A	Theft IV & Promotion
<b>Regan</b>	Samoa	41	<High School	Separated	4	N/A	Methamphetamine Trafficking
<b>Sela</b>	Samoa	47	Voc Tech	Separated	4	Health Care	Methamphetamine Trafficking
<b>Pohai</b>	Samoa/ Caucasian	52	Some college	Divorced	None	Health Care/ Food service	Promotion in the First

*Table 1 Study Informants*



### *Analyzing the Data*

Originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory “explains the studied process in new theoretical terms, explicates the properties of the theoretical categories, and often demonstrates the causes and conditions under which the process emerges and varies, and delineates its consequences” (Charmaz 2006:8). Grounded theory is informed by symbolic interactionism, which “assumes that interaction is inherently dynamic and interpretive and addresses how people create, enact, and change meanings and actions” (Charmaz 2006:7).

A grounded theory allows researchers to analyze how and why people behave in a certain manner based on individual meanings and interpretations, it is well suited to identifying the varied pathways by which women in Hawai‘i engage in crime and come to be incarcerated. It also allows for the development a nuanced understanding of how those pathways are influenced by raced and gendered experiences. While there have been several developments to grounded theory since the original version, Charmaz (2006) offers a constructivist approach to grounded theory which aligns with the feminist research paradigm and is ideal for analyzing semi-structured interview data.

Just as feminist scholars are concerned with reflexivity, Charmaz (2006) incorporates the researcher’s understanding of self in to the production of knowledge. Charmaz (2006) writes that researchers “are a part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives and research

practices” (Charmaz 2006, p.10). The analyses generated using grounded theory methodologies are the researcher’s interpretation of the participants’ reality, since researchers study “from as close to the inside of the experience as we can get, but realize that we cannot replicate the experiences of our research participants” (Charmaz 2006:130). As such, Charmaz’ grounded theory methodology and analytical methods are well-suited to analyze semi-structured interview data and also aligns with feminist perspectives and methodologies.

I conducted all interviews and managed all study data myself. I began analysis by first transcribing all interviews using an online transcribing program. The interviews were stripped of any names and identifying features and were then put in to a word processing document. I then engaged in line-by-line coding. This process required me to name each line of data, allowing processes to emerge and pursue in further analysis (Charmaz 2006). I paid particular attention to *in vivo* codes, or the “widely used terms that participants assume everyone shares (Charmaz 2006:55). I coded half of the interviews this way, then moved on to focused, axial and theoretical coding.

Focused coding consists of using the codes determined in line-by-line coding to “sift through” large sections of data and identifying which codes analytically categorize the data (Charmaz 2006). The focused codes are then reconfigured in axial coding, or fitting the codes together in such a way that answers who, what, when, where, why and how (Charmaz 2006). The final step in coding was to engage in theoretical coding. At this level, the challenge was to find the connections

between the codes and to “move [the] analytic story in a theoretical direction” (Charmaz 2006:63). As Charmaz noted, this is not a linear process and I spent the better part of three months working with the data, moving between all three levels of coding and configuring and reconfiguring the codes in to plausible conceptual models. One useful tool for working with the various levels of coding was Charmaz’ (2006) prescription of memo-writing, or the “prewriting” exercise of fleshing out the links between the codes. This was done through both outlining and visually diagramming the relationships between the codes.

### *Challenges*

While all research endeavors have challenges, this study had challenges specific to the research location and to the researcher (Patenaude 2004). While I did have the benefit of a research champion on the inside, there were still several months between each of the various permissions. Additionally, the residents in the program each had their own schedule of work, sleep and visiting with family, so finding a mutually acceptable time to participate in this study was challenging.

I conducted the interviews over the course of two months and was only stood up twice. One resident was so excited to get ready for her parole that she made an appointment to get a haircut during our scheduled interview time. A second resident agreed to work an extra shift at a brand new job during our interview time. Each woman was apologetic, and I was reminded how lucky I was that the women made time to participate in my research.

## CHAPTER IV

### “RUNNING IT HARD:” A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF INCARCERATED WOMEN’S SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

As a result of the work of feminist criminologists, women’s crime commission and incarceration are increasingly understood as contextualized by trauma and victimization (Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Chesney-Lind 1997; Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2004; Daly 1994; DeHart 2004; Gaarder and Belknap 2002; Herrera and McCloskey 2000; Joe and Chesney-Lind 1995; Molnar, Browne, Cerda, and Buka 2005). This has resulted in calls for and the implementation of trauma-informed care in prisons, especially those facilities holding women (Benedict 2014; Bloom, Owen and Covington 2003; Covington 2008; SAMHSA 2013).

The findings from my 16 interviews corroborated the experiences of personal and structural traumas amongst incarcerated women in Hawai‘i (Brown 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodrigues 1983). While the feminist pathways perspective tends to focus “on the lives of women prior to their criminal justice involvement to determine which factors have compelled them to engage in crime” (Gehring 2016:2), Hage (2006) suggests that “in addition to studying the systemic and contextual factors that limit women, it is important to recognize and affirm the way that women, in particular marginalized women, take control or sustain agency in the midst of trauma or other challenging circumstances” (84). As such, further analysis of the data I collected revealed women’s gendered strategies for negotiating the

social and intimate relationships that had the power to both empower and traumatize them.

Despite major steps toward gender equality in the U.S. over the past 50 years, American girls and women continue to be socialized into traditional female gender roles (Adler, Kless and Adler 1992; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010; Twenge 1997). Eagly and Karau (2002) write that the widely accepted gender roles for women include “communal characteristics”, or those which “describe primarily a concern with the welfare of other people—for example, affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturant, and gentle” (574). The societal demand that women prioritize these communal characteristics leads them to construct a self-image based on their involvement in interpersonal relationships (Covington and Surrey 2000; Friedman 2000).

Covington and Surrey (2000) write, “women develop a sense of self and self-worth when their actions arise out of, and lead back into, connections with others. Connection, not separation, is the guiding principle of growth for women” (3). As such, the women in this study both sought and were bound by their connections with others. While their social interactions provided the women with the connections they desired, these social relationships also engendered crime commission and incarceration contextualized and bounded by the patriarchal, colonial U.S. social structure overlaid on Hawaiian history and culture.

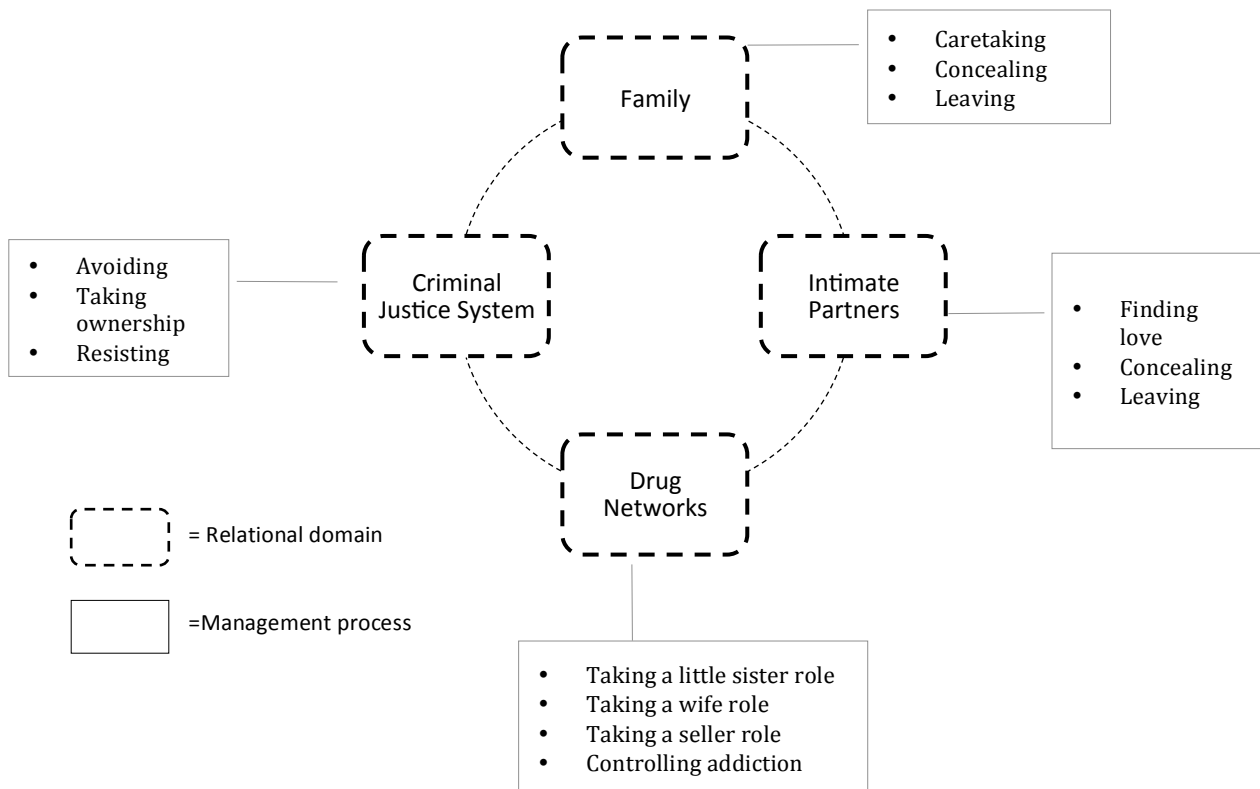
### *Overview of Conceptual Model*

In this chapter, I describe the conceptual model of incarcerated women's management of their social relationships in Hawai'i based on my analysis of the narrative interviews I conducted. This model is not intended to be causal or explanatory, but rather descriptive of the experiences of women I interviewed in this study. Using Charmaz (2006), I would describe my conceptual findings as an "interpretive theory" or one that "emphasizes understanding rather than explanation" (126). This model, therefore, seeks to provide a more detailed and revealing account of the life experiences, processes and sites of important social relationships for women who have been incarcerated in Hawai'i and I suggest some of the implications for and meanings of these findings.

Study informants consistently referred to four major sites of social interaction, which I have labeled *relational domains*. These sites were: Family; Intimate Partnerships; Drug Networks; and the Criminal Justice System. Though the women in this study reported many different types of social interactions and levels of social relationships, these four relational domains were most consistently important throughout the lives of the study informants. These four relational domains were also most consistent across study informant.

Through their social and intimate interactions in and across each domain, the women found both affirmation and suffering, empowerment and abasement, opportunities to engage in both conventional and criminalized behaviors, and

periods of reasonable stability, punctuated by times when they sought deeper relief from the pressures of those often overlapping domains.



*Figure 1 Relational Domains and Interactional Processes*

As depicted in Figure 1, the boundaries of and between the relational domains were dynamic. The domain could grow and shrink. Over the course of their lives, the relational domains sometimes coincided or interwove with each other. For example, intimate partnerships might coincide with drug networks when both a woman and her partner were involved in the same drug networks. Similarly, the relational domains might overlap if drugs were used with family members.

The women in this study also utilized a wide range of Interactional Processes and strategies to manage both the positive and negative relationships, functions, roles and activities within and between each domain. These processes were effective for much of the time. That is, the women seemed to find an equilibrium in which they could manage their lives.

Yet, for all of the women in this study, the demands and conflicts from one more relational domains eventually increased, causing feelings of overwhelm and a loss of control. These feelings indicated an upset of the equilibrium that the women had worked so hard to maintain. Described as “spinning out” or “losing my mind,” this period of instability made the women vulnerable to triggers that pushed them past the tipping point in to a state they termed “running it hard,” in which women turned to their drug network domain, rejecting and resisting the demands from intimates in other relational domains. I argue that *running it hard* was a strategy used by the women as a means of escaping overwhelming and conflicting demands placed upon them in their relational domains. This model is illustrated in Figure 2.

In the next section, I will describe the four relational domains and the respective interactional processes women used to manage their relationships within them. I then show how the overlapping demands from each relational domain resulted in feelings of overwhelm, causing the women to start “running it hard” as a means of exerting their agency in managing the stressors of their complex relationships. I will also discuss how “running it hard” brought the women into the carceral state and the challenges they experienced in ending challenging stage and



state of their lives. Finally I will discuss the distinctive ways Native Hawaiian women in the study experienced and described their role conflicts and compatibilities within the different domains and with their employment of interactional processes.

### *The Family*

Yee et al. (2007) identify four cultural themes regarding Asian and Pacific Islander families: collectivism (the “tendency to place group needs and goals above the goals and desires of the individual”); relational orientation (“a cultural frame in which the self is defined in terms of its essential and continuing interdependence with others”); familism (“a hierarchically organized family system as the basic social unit”); and family obligation (“both attitudinal and behavioral responsibilities in which children are expected to: show respect and affection for older family members; seek their advice and accept their decisions; and maintain propinquity, instrumental assistance, and emotional ties with parents across the life span” (72). They collapse these four cultural themes into the concept of “family interdependence”:

In light of the strong emphasis on family obligation and piety, family interdependence is a core issue for AAPI families. A strong kinship system with high levels of mutual obligation provides family members with a clearly defined group that can be counted on to provide assistance and aid (Yee et al.2007:72).

They further suggest, “family interdependence can be a powerful resource, but it can also be a source of stress” (Yee et al. 2007:72).

All of the women in the study of Native Hawaiian, Asian American and Pacific Islander heritage asserted that family was their most important relational domain. Whether the family was deemed “good,” abusive or absent, the high levels of mutual obligation felt by the women and their families held them in extended interactions with each other. Study informants described their families on a continuum of “good” to “crazy.” Alohilani, a Native Hawaiian woman from suburban Oahu, described her parents as “the bomb”, saying that she was just a kolohe [naughty] girl who got into trouble in her childhood. Similarly, Tommy, a Native Hawaiian woman from rural Oahu said that she was “daddy’s girl”, playing sports and hanging out with her father until his death while she was in high school. Many of the study informants had siblings and extended family living in their homes; their primary interactions were typically located in their families.

While Alohilani and Tommy initially described their families as “good”, both also reported being hurt by them. Alohilani explained that as the only girl in her family, she did not receive the attention from her father that she desired. Tommy described the estranged relationship she had with her mother following her father’s passing; Tommy did not like her mother’s new boyfriends and Tommy’s mother called her a “half-daughter” because Tommy was a lesbian. It was true of most of the study informants that their home lives spanned from both good through abusive, often at the same time. That is, even the children of the most abusive households had moments of love and fun, of connection and happiness within the familial domain. For some of the study informants, families that started out abusive

progressed to “good,” often as parents received help for substance abuse and addiction.

Despite the acknowledgement of “good” times, childhood experiences of families were frequently marked by abuse or absences. This caused feelings of pain and hurt amongst the women, often from a young age. Pohai, a Samoan woman who had been adopted by her extended family then abused, shamed and isolated, carried a life-long desire for a mutually loving relationship, especially from her sister:

I used to be very sad. I used to admire other students who had a relationship with their sibling and how they loved each other. And yet it was sad to me. I wanted it so bad. But it wasn't in my cards for life.

Not receiving this love from her family caused Pohai significant grief that she carried into her adulthood. Similarly, the other women in this study suffered from strained familial relationships. Many study informants specifically mentioned the paucity of interaction with their mothers who were often physically and/or emotionally absent, working several jobs to financially support the families or coping with their own cycles of substance abuse. Michelle noted that her mother worked long hours to support the family after getting a divorce, going back to work and moving from home to home:

She had to work which was weird because my mom never did work before. And, so well, she did work before but...she worked before we were born. And then, she started having to work two jobs. And you know, we was just like bounced around. Like not “bounced around,” but we went from living with my uncle; like my mom took us straight from our house to live with my aunty for a little while. Then we lived with my uncle. Then we got our own place.

We went back up there for a few months and then my mom sold it. And then so we rented another place. So it was just like unstable.

Michelle said that with her mother's focus on work and financially supporting the family, she spent less time trying to control the children: "my mom started becoming more lax because she gave up already trying to control everything." It was at this point that Michelle began to get in to trouble with the law for selling drugs.

Similarly, Jackie's mother struggled to support and care for Jackie and her two sisters with a drug-addicted husband who frequently abandoned her alone with the children. Jackie recalled making attempts to reconcile her family, trying to convince her father to return, being hurt when he would not, and not having her mother present to soothe her emotional hurts:

I would always tell him, come home already! You know? Things like that. And I just ended up hating him because he never came home. My mom, I think how she dealt with everything was she became a workaholic. She drowned herself in work. She had three jobs.

In her interview, Sandy, a Japanese/Caucasian woman from urban Oahu, also said she did not have any parental care, noting that her father was violent and her mother distant. She especially recalled her desire to love and be loved by her mother: "My mom never physically loved me, which really can callous a female. Physical touch is very important. Not having it, it just makes you hardened." She described her mother's aloofness as a cultural trait, as her mother was "local Japanese" and not prone to expressions of love or affection. Sandy felt left to her

own devices to cope with her father's violence, to seek warmth and affection and to learn about womanhood:

I had so many questions growing up. Like makeup, your period. My mom didn't teach me about your period. I had to learn it in school. My friend's the first one who put a tampon in me. Like, me, I had to learn all on my own. You know, questions. She never answered. Talk, nothing. Bras, nothing. I had to go buy my own bras with my friends.

Sandy recollected reaching out to her mother but being silently rebuffed: "It wasn't offered so I wouldn't bring it up, I guess." In a telling event from her past, Sandy recalled being abandoned by her father when she accompanied him on a concert promotion trip to the continental U.S.:

So he took me to the mainland one time and I was, like, really young. Too young to even know where I'm from. Because when he abandoned me up there, all I remember is a rock concert, but he ran away. Like, we went into a bar and he got into a fight and I ended up with this lady I don't even know. And then he ran away with the ticket money. Then he's wanted. Like, I remember staying up there confused, like, where is my dad, you know? [Starts to cry]. They asked me where I'm from, I just know I'm from an island- it was so traumatic because I ended up with a stranger. Then finally when I got on an airplane to come home, the stewardess- the airplane got delayed and I had to go to her house. I don't even know who this lady is.

Upon her return home to Hawaii, despite being scared, hurt and confused, Sandy found herself unable to turn to either parent for comfort or an explanation:

When I got home it was never talked about. My mom never talked about it to this day. I asked her again one more time when she comes to visit me here [work furlough site]. My mom has this kind of memory like she forgot. She don't remember. So I asked her again when I came here. She don't remember that incident. She just remembers that I went to the mainland and I had to fly back. She don't know why. My dad talked to me about it one time, but he was all high and that was awkward.

Sandy said that this incident and others like it, demonstrated that she should not expect to get love and affection from her parents. Like Sandy, Sam felt the lack of care from her family. Despite describing her family life as “good” early in the interview, Sam recounted feeling that her family did not care about her, as her mother kicked her out when she needed help the most:

I always did everything that they wanted me to do. So after a while I guess I just went buck and do what I wanted for do. Like after my dad died, my [own] kids’ father got locked up, everything just fell apart slowly. And when my mom found out I was using and all that stuff, I was the first person that she kicked out of the house, while my brother and my sister use. I don’t know, I guess she expects more from me. Out of all the kids, I’m the one to pay my own bills. She kicked me out. I don’t know. I just felt like they never care.

Families were one of the most important relational domains for the women in the study, providing them with contrasting states of happiness and sadness and empowerment and abuse. These familial connections held the women in extended interactions with family members and the family unit itself. As a result, the women developed several interactional processes to negotiate their familial relationships. The three main processes were: *Caretaking*, *Concealing* and *Leaving*.

*Managing the family: Caretaking.*

One of the primary strategies undertaken by the study informants was *caretaking* within the family, often beginning at an uncommonly young age. A feminized job, but one of significance, the caretaker role included watching siblings, nieces and nephews, while parents were at work; being a go-between for feuding

parents; and providing monetary support for the family. This caretaking role also placed women in a custodial role, tasked with keeping the family together and functioning. This role imposed responsibility at a young age that afforded the women some power and protection within their families by making them integral to the running of their family unit and also by allowing women to enact agency over their own lives.

Many of the women frequently watched over the younger children in their families. For example, Megan, a Native Hawaiian woman from suburban Oahu took over watching the younger children in her family while a teenager. Despite having a close-knit extended family on other parts of the island, Megan and her sister were often left alone in the house while their single mother went to work to support the family. Megan described her mother as working hard, trying to make the best life for Megan, her two sisters and brother. Megan recalled that she got “whatever” she wanted from her mother and looking back, Megan felt that she took advantage of her mother’s generosity:

When you find out what you can do, you just take it to the extent. Like okay, like my mom not going to tell us no, so we're going to overuse that, you know. I was like twenty-three, still yet at home, still getting allowance. My mom used to give me like 300 dollars a week.

At twenty-three, however, Megan had already been responsible for her nieces even after dropping out of high school. Megan’s mother became sick and required in-home care soon after, and Megan got certified to be her mother’s full-time caregiver while in her late teens:

My cousin had kids really young so I used to take care of her kids. My sister, I think when I just turned 18, I took care of her daughter. And it just kind of moved like that. When my mom got sick I took care of my mom. My sister ended up having four kids. I took care of all four kids and my mom.

Tending to her kinship network provided Megan with a sense of identity and purpose. She stopped spending as much time with her friends and focused much of her attention on the maintenance of her family, despite her mother's encouragement to have more of a social life: "My mom used to always tell me, 'Why don't you go out? You're so young.' Like, um, cause I don't want to go out. Like I'm over it. I did that when I was 16 - all the way, you know. I'm over it."

Previous studies of delinquent girls and women incarcerated in Hawai'i have found high rates of childhood trauma including violence in the home, foster care placement, sexual abuse, running away from home, dropping out of school, and teen pregnancy (Brown 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; Joe and Chesney-Lind 1995; Yuen, Hu and Engel 2005). Similarly, the women in this study reported that their homes were often unstable and violent. Several of the women experienced and/or witnessed violence in their homes on a regular basis. Despite this, many of the women continued to engage in oversight roles within their families.

When asked what she remembered about her childhood, Sandy, a mixed-race Asian American woman from urban Oahu, responded, "that it sucked." With an alcoholic father and a recovering drug addict mother, Sandy's childhood home was chaotic and violent. Her father worked at a high school and would invite the



students to parties at their house. Sandy recollected frequently waking to find strangers passed out in her house from the night before. She recalled that her home was violent and unsafe, but that no state agencies stepped in to help her or her brother:

My dad would abuse my mom. Like, shoot guns. He always like shoot guns. We always had bullet holes all over the house. Like, it was very, very violent. But the police rarely come. The neighbors back then, they don't call the police. CPS [Child Protective Services] don't get involved. I remember the police came over once, but that's because our balcony was on fire. And of course they had to come and no CPS. Like, no questions.

Sandy was charged with caring for her younger brother. As she believed that no one would help them, she embraced that parental role though it made her feel different than her peers and prevented her from escaping the violence and instability in her home:

I remember thinking this kind of stuffs that a normal child wouldn't think, because I had a lot of responsibility on my hands. So then I started to question. I knew at a young age that my household is messed up. And um, so at a young age I would like- I couldn't dig out from home because I had to watch my brother.

Following her parents' divorce, Sandy's mother began to date and later married the detective charged with investigating Sandy's juvenile crimes. At one point in time, Sandy's stepfather banned her from her childhood home and would tackle and handcuff her when she tried to return. Said Sandy, "He would see me and he would like full on attack me, like body slam me, put the cuffs on me like I'm a criminal just for trying to get in to my house."

Later, Sandy took legal custody of her brother who was also clashing with their stepfather. Sandy says that she “hustled” her brother by introducing him to drugs and teaching him how to steal:

My boyfriend taught him how to steal and I would be the one to return all the items for cash. At that time, all the stores, Liberty House, City Mill, Disney Store, could return items for cash. Nowadays no can, forget it. But it was so easy. My brother-them was good at ripping off. And I would tell them no worry, just do it. Because if you get arrested, I’m your mom. I can bail you out. So he wasn’t scared and he was all strung out on coke. It was terrible.

Despite this, Sandy spent a good deal of her childhood and teens emotionally and eventually, legally responsible for her brother.

Erica, a Native Hawaiian woman from rural Oahu was also responsible for her siblings at an early age. Erica bore the brunt of her father’s violence in order to protect her siblings. Like Sandy, Erica recalled that when a state agency would come to check on reports of family violence, none of them intervened. Erica said that her father would proclaim that he could abuse his children if he wanted to:

Um, back then, CPS and the police came and my father told them, ‘You know what, I brought these kids into the world, I take ‘em out the way I like.’ And back then, CPS wasn’t a big thing like how it is today. So they just left us there.

Erica also had an older sibling who was intellectually disabled. As the oldest child, Erica watched all of her brothers and sisters while her parents worked, but after her father became incapacitated and stayed home doing drugs, she soon found herself supervising the other children and shielding them from their father’s violence:

I felt like I was the mother figure having to take care of the kids, and everything that went wrong, he picked on me. He licked, you know what I mean. So I came to a point where if he went after my brothers and sisters I would shelter them and I would take the lickings.

Erica's caretaking of her family soon expanded into criminalized behaviors. She described looking after her siblings by stealing items that they needed from the store, all without her parents' knowledge:

Because I'm the second oldest of the family, I had the younger siblings. And we get all the kids, so we get hand me down clothes from my cousins, yeah. So my sister them needed this, or my brother them needed that. And I just went to the store and I stole 'em. They say they needed this for school, or they say they no more this tablet, I just go in the store and steal 'em. I never even tell my mom nothing.

Erica was able to ease life for her siblings and to relieve some of her parents' burden of providing for the children at a time when her mother worked multiple jobs while her father went in and out of employment due to substance abuse. Her role and function allowed the family to persist under trying circumstances. Erica stated that this dynamic of her parental responsibility for the children and her also being able to provide for her siblings by stealing "increased [her] criminality because getting away with things, I went for bigger and better things after that. From the small necessities to the jewelry to groceries and stuff for the house."

Erica's father continued to be increasingly more abusive towards Erica's mother and the children. He was especially overprotective of Erica, demanding that she stay with a brother or a male cousin at all times. She stated, "I was on a tight leash." Erica ran away at 17 years old after her father held her down and shaved her

head bald in an attempt to control her looks and subsequently keep her close to home.

When her mother left her father for another man, Erica's father retreated into heavy drug use and could not care for himself. Having moved into her own house with her boyfriend, Erica brought her father to live with her and help her maintain her household. He also dealt drugs with her. Despite her father's history of abusive behavior, Erica's prior caretaking role dictated that she find a way to provide for him. In this manner, Erica both directly served as caretaker to her father and to the rest of the family by relieving others of the burden of caring for him. Erica described how this role reinforced the flipped parent-child power dynamic, which in adulthood, brought her closer to her father:

I had the drugs. He was like a hush puppy. He wasn't abusive. He did anything I wanted him to do. So I had the control over him, yeah. I could dangle the dope and he would be my strong arm. He would go collect my money. He would stay home and watch my house.

As she got older, Erica returned to committing crimes to take care of her own family, now with her own children. As a mother, Erica was arrested for stealing basic necessities for her children:

I was a single parent out there raising five children. What had happened was things got difficult and I reverted back to old behaviors and I went back in to the store and I stole. Um, my house didn't have electric. I had a roommate and they split on me and they didn't help me with the electric, so it got cut off and I panicked. Last minute kind, you know, impulsivity. Um, I went in the store and I stole propane stove, um, candles, flashlights, cause the house never have electric. And then food. And I got arrested.

Yvette, a Native Hawaiian woman born on the continental U.S. and raised on Oahu, worked to keep her family unit together starting at age ten. Her ability to do so gave her considerable power, though it was a heavy burden for such a young person. Yvette described her role as the go-between for her mother and father beginning from the time she moved to Hawai'i as a ten-year-old:

We moved to Hawai'i because my parents was drama. 'Cause my dad fooled around, my parents was drama. My mom ran away and she came here. And I would listen to - my mom used to tell me too much things about her and my father's life that kids shouldn't know. I would balance my mom's checking and savings accounts. I was my mom and my dad's counselors. My mom would tell me stuff and my dad would tell me stuff and I wouldn't instigate nothing. So I was the family counselor from a young age.

Yvette recalled how her family caretaking role involved helping her mother search for her father, who was often in bars with other women:

I used to go in to the bars when I was in high school. My mom would drive me to the bar to look for my dad. And I used to go into the bar, and would have a waitress sitting on my dad's lap. And I would yank her out of the seat and beat the shit out of her and tell my dad, 'You know, mom's crying.' That's the kind drama I used to go through with my parents.

As Yvette was the only person in the family who could relate to and contain her father, she was put in charge of keeping her father's temper at bay:

They would be fighting. The whole house would be fighting and my mom would go, 'Yvette go tell your dad.' And I would go sit on his lap and I would go 'Daddy? You pau [done] mad now, yeah? Pau mad now, Daddy? And he would go 'okay.' Like all his mad would come out of him like that. I would, for some reason, I had that kind of power over my dad. So like everything landed in my lap from when I was a kid. So it's like I had to. I had to.

It is important to note here that in Native Hawaiian families, roles and familial connections often have a spiritual dimension. That Yvette had this power to calm her father would be considered a role chosen for her by her ancestors. That she accepted it and took it on was a way of fulfilling her kuleana; her responsibility to family members past, present and future (Pukui, Haertig and Kee 1972:158).

. Yvette spoke of losing this power to calm her father after he hit her for the first time while she shielded her mother from his violence. Yvette described feeling lost and worthless after losing the spiritual connection with her father, but found that it had been taken up by her son:

My son had it. My son could jump on my father's lap and be like, 'Papa.'" You know, 'cause my dad never hit him. I was watching my son with my dad and I was proud of the fact that my son had it, but I was missing my dad [cries].

An even greater challenge to her role as caretaker came with her father's death:

Even up until my dad's death I really didn't know what my life was. And then my dad died and I was like, how do I live in this world with, where is my life? I didn't know where my life was without my parents' drama. Because that's all my life was.

Examining Yvette's feelings of purposelessness after the loss of her father and the powerful caretaking role she had assumed demonstrates how strongly the women identified with the caretaking process. Having served in this role for so long, when she lost the power to calm her father and then with his ultimate death, Yvette also was displaced from a role that ensured her continued importance in her family. She also lost her connection to a process that she drew part of her self-identity from as a Hawaiian; a process that, through a cultural lens, was spiritually ordained.

Like Yvette, many of the other Hawaiian women in this study had deeply rooted, spiritual connections to their family. This spiritual connection had specific, cultural implications for the oversight and tending the women did within their families. This will be discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

Finally, the women also enacted the family caretaking function through performing economic tasks. Regan, a Samoan woman from a gang-riddled neighborhood in urban Oahu recalled her role as a “financier” for her family, sharing: “The only time they needed me was like, when they needed money, or they needed money for funeral, or they needed help. And I would go [get the money], you know.” Similarly, Sam, an Asian American woman and her boyfriend were charged with financially keeping the family afloat following her father’s death. As her mother was grieving and unable to work or pay bills, Sam and her boyfriend shared money he earned working under the table.

Many of the women in this study described their role as caretaker for their families as persisting even through their incarceration. Several women mentioned sending money they earned while incarcerated to children and relatives. Oftentimes, the women’s children lived with the very relatives for whom the women previously served as caretakers. In this case, the women would find ways to look after both their own children and adults who were caring for them. Even while incarcerated, Sam sent her mother money and also entreated a friend to help out: “I used to give my mom money too, because she had my daughter. My guilt. Even when I was in

prison, my friend took care of my mom. Like he gave her 300, 400 bucks every so often.”

*Managing the family: Concealing.*

Another key interactional process in families occurred when the women engaged in *concealing* aspects of their lives from their families and/or concealing aspects of their family life from other social institutions. Both acts served to preserve and maintain the family equilibrium. The women acknowledged that concealing aspects of their own lives from their families served to distance themselves and their actions from specific parental expectations that they were broaching. This strategy implied a “don’t ask don’t tell” quality, in that both the women and their families could ignore the unacceptable behaviors and consequences of same.

Sela, a 47year old Samoan woman, described learning to conceal behaviors from her parents in order to keep the peace and avoid physical punishment from her father, a strict parent who was the pastor of their church. As noted by Joe and Chesney-Lind (1995), Sela’s family life was guided by very gendered parameters and expectations from Samoan culture. As the only female child in her family, Sela was often excluded from her brothers’ play. She was forbidden from entering their rooms or playing with their toys. Sela recounted her early rebelliousness: “I broke the rules so many times. I was always caught playing marbles with my brothers in their room, or with their little toy soldiers.”



This resulted in Sela's father disciplining her with corporal punishment: "I got lickings so many times 'cause I kept on breaking that rule [chuckles]." While her brothers upheld the cultural imperative in their family to unquestioningly respect their parents, Sela tended to question and argue. This resulted in repeated discipline:

My brothers-them, they always used to tell me, 'You must love to get lickings.' To me, I'm not answering back. To me, it's in my mind, I'm not disrespecting, I'm just raising my opinion. And that's where I get lickings sometimes, you know, 'cause you not supposed to answer back no matter if your parents are correct or wrong. But I feel like if I'm getting scoldings for something that in my mind is not right, you know what I mean, and I kept on telling them, 'Listen, you guys is not living in Samoa anymore. This is the mainland, you know.'

Sela learned to conceal any conduct that her parents would not approve of, striving to pass her classes as a cover for deviant behaviors: "I graduated. We go to school...because I come from a family that you do get lickings, you know what I mean, so I made sure, though, I'm on top of it even though I would drink and smoke." Sela described going to school, avoiding teachers and other adults on campus, but doing enough work to pass her classes and graduate on time.

Similarly, Michelle, an Asian-American woman born and raised on a neighbor island, said that she stayed in school in order to avoid her mother finding out about her marijuana use: "Honestly, I just wanted to go there so I could smoke weed without my mom knowing." While Sela did her best to avoid interaction with adults in her school, Michelle often engaged and challenged the school

administration. In an attempt to find an easier way to complete her high school requirements, Michelle sought classification as a special education student:

Actually, I tried to get in to Special Ed one time because I didn't want to be in school any more. And so I was a TA for a Special Ed class, so I was like, I just want to get into special Ed. But they made it a big trip because you had to be recommended or whatever. I don't know. I was irritated. And you know, you have to have a really low GPA or whatever, and I was like, 'You guys are telling me to flunk all my classes?'

Additionally, after getting into trouble for fighting on campus, Michelle made an agreement to check in at the Vice Principal's office and be escorted to and from her classes by a security guard. Though she eventually dropped out of high school, Michelle's description of her efforts to stay in school demonstrated her desire to stay in school, if only to avoid fights with her mother over dropping out and smoking weed. Though she says that she really "didn't care", her actions demonstrate a commitment to remaining in school to help conceal her daily marijuana use.

A more gendered feature of concealing occurred as the women described hiding pregnancies, as well as sexual and domestic abuse. Tina, a Native Hawaiian woman from rural Oahu recalled being 15 years old and hiding her pregnancy from her father until the day she went to labor. Tina described childhood as full of chaos and crime:

I pretty much had one dysfunctional life. My mom used to do crime, my mom used to rip from the stores too. My dad was an alcoholic drug addict. He was abusive. I grew up in fear. You know, like because of my dad. Even though I didn't actually get lickings, but I seen my mom, my sister, my brother, get

dirty, dirty lickings. You know, to where that alone, just seeing it, put fear in me to where I don't want to be on Dad's bad side, so I not going do stupid things or anything.

Her concealment of her pregnancy, which was her second, allowed Tina's family to remain unaware and free from confrontation over her pregnancy during HER? drug addiction, which they strongly condemned. As Tina went into labor and could no longer hide her pregnancy, it provoked the very violent reaction from her father that she had been trying to avoid:

I was ready for give birth and I still never like tell him. So, eventually, my sister was- she went lose 'em. My Dad was outside tweaking, fucking washing the car, and she was fucking yelling. She's like, 'Your stupid-ass daughter stay in the frickin' room, her water bag went broke, ready for give birth, and she's fucking scared for come out here and tell you that she having one baby.' Ho, he went lost 'em. He came in the room, fucking hit me, kick me out, while I was in labor, girl. He made sure my mom, nobody help me. So I'm like, sneaking, telling my sister for call my cousin for take me to the da kine, yeah. So while I'm on the corner waiting on the stone wall, waiting for my cousin coming, they going back and forth, yelling all kind stupid shit at me.

Besides pregnancy, several of the women reported concealing their molestation by family friends and relatives. Yvette reported being raped by her father's friends on two occasions, both when her father was drunk. Yvette kept both incidents a secret from her family, even after one of the rapes resulted in her pregnancy at 12 years old. In order to conceal the rape, Yvette had her cousin hit her with a bat to induce a miscarriage.

Like Tina, Yvette concealed her rape and subsequent pregnancy to keep her father's violence in check. She believed that her father and her brother would attack

or kill her molesters and get I to trouble with the law: “I had this mentality that if I told my Dad, ‘cause my Dad was a scrapper, and my brother was, like, a scrapper, so like I was afraid that they would kill him.”

Yvette finally told her father about the rape and pregnancy after he called her a “whore” for getting pregnant with her boyfriend. Her father felt guilt for not protecting Yvette. The man who raped Yvette had died by the time she told her father, but she believed that her father would have sought revenge. In this way, Yvette’s concealing was successful; she waited to reveal the abuse until a time when she could keep her father protected from getting himself into serious trouble.

Regan recalled being sexually assaulted by her mother’s new husband:

The first time he did something to me was after I gave birth to my son who was like five years old. He [mother’s new husband] would unlock my door and I was sleeping, you know. And my button would be off of my shorts, and it would be like half going down and I was like, oh my gosh, I felt something. So I got up and his face was right by my privates.

Despite repeated episodes such as this, Regan concealed these incidents in order to protect her mother: “I kept that as a secret because I didn’t know what my mom would react to it, you know?”

Regan did attempt to tell her mother about the abuse. Her mother viewed Regan’s disclosure as a failure to conceal. Regan’s mother accused her of trying to be spiteful by bringing it up and declared that she would choose her new husband over Regan:

She started crying and then she like, why am I doing this to her? And why would I say such things? And I would just look at him and I was like cussing

in my mind, like, you know, who the hell are you to come here and start. After I heard her say all of that and then she would take him over me, and I was like to the point I was like totally stabbed in the heart. Stood up, didn't care no more what she said. Even though she cried, I didn't care because I was so hurt at the fact that she choose him over me.

Regan soon left her home to live on the streets with her young son.

Pohai, a Samoan woman who grew up with her sister and cousins in a household headed by her grandfather and his second wife (whom she called "Mom"), was molested by several men in the household. After telling her mom about the abuse, she was told to conceal the information. When she continued to talk about the molestations, refusing to conceal the abuse, the family attempted to force her in to keep quiet: "they actually turned around and blamed me." This victim-blaming demonstrated the perils of not choosing to conceal certain types of information from their families.

In addition to concealing very gendered aspects of their own lives from their families, the women in this study also concealed certain aspects of their family lives from others. At a young age, Destiny knew about but concealed her mother's infidelity from her father:

My dad was incarcerated and she was fooling around with this guy. And I was kind of put in the middle, you know. I was like 5 years old, I think. Then my mom brought her boyfriend but she was still visiting my dad and I kind of was, you know, had to keep quiet at what was going on.

At this young age, Destiny's mother would offer her small tokens to keep the secret: "she would always bribe me. You know, 'Oh you can smoke cigarette'. Just real crazy

kind stuff. You can do what you like. You can have all the pennies for go to the manapua man [snack vendor]. [laughs].” Destiny’s strong desire to have a relationship with her mother inclined her to accept her mother’s coercion into this role. After breaking the implicit bargain of concealing sexual abuse by her mother’s boyfriend, Destiny found herself in foster care and subsequently abandoned by her mother:

Her boyfriend used to um, molest me for years. And then I finally, when he beat me up one time when I was in fifth grade, I finally had the courage to tell because I was all bust up going to school. And then you know, my counselor asked me what was going on so I kind of broke down you know. So they took me away. You know, I was in the foster system for years. All the way 'til I was 18.

Before turning 18, Destiny’s desire to reconcile with her mother caused her to circumvent the foster care system rules by returning to live with her mother despite the fact that her mother’s boyfriend, Destiny’s abuser, remained in the home:

Before I made 18, I had the opportunity to go back to my mom knowing that her boyfriend was still living - knowing that my predator was still living there. We kind of came to an agreement that we worked things out but they didn't know that, that he was there. And that didn't work out. My mom abandoned me again. So it was kind of crazy. She went Big Island and left me stranded, like homeless.

Tina also hid her parents’ criminal activities from others, creating cover stories about where stolen items came from. She recalled feeling shame and resentment toward her family:

Why can't I have a normal family? Why my family gotta do drugs? Why I gotta lie to people in school on how I get all my nice stuffs and why I'm out

late at night doing drug runs with my parents. Why...you know, why? You know, it's just like the lies. And having to remember what I went lie about. You know, I used to think that it's not fair; you know, I'm a kid.

This dynamic of hiding her family's dysfunctional acts persisted throughout her childhood. At age 14 and pregnant, Tina took a theft charge and a community service sentence as a means of protecting her mother:

I got my first da kine before I was 15, I think. I took the rap for my mom on one theft charge. I was 14. I was pregnant with my son that time and I ended up going, they was going send me to DH [Detention Home] but I was pregnant so they went send me... I had to do community service. But I ended up taking one of the theft charges for my mom because I never like her go jail.

At the time of our interview, Tina stated that she was now close with mother and that her underaged children currently live with her.

*Managing the family: Leaving.*

A third strategy for managing their families was leaving families for periods of time. This process of leaving often occurred when conflicts arose between the women and members of the family. Leaving the families allowed the women to focus on their own pursuits while leaving the family structure intact and leaving open the possibility for return. As opposed to challenging their families, making accusations or forcing other family members to choose between them or the family member in question, the women simply decided to leave. For example, and as described earlier, Regan left her home for the streets when her mother did not support her after revealing her sexual abuse. Erica provided another example of a woman leaving her home rather than challenging her family structure. After years of being targeted for

monitoring by her father, Erica's father held her down and cut off all of her hair.

Rather than fight with or challenge her father, Erica chose to leave her family home:

Out of all my siblings, I'm the smallest. And um, all my sisters are big boned, they're real chubby, yeah. So he didn't worry about them. He didn't put stipulations on them. They could go anywhere they wanted. But I was always expected to go with my brothers or my cousins....it got to a point where I'm at the age of 17, he sat on me and cut me bolo head and, um, I ran away. I been on my own ever since.

As indicated prior, Erica did re-enter in to a caretaking relationship with her father.

Thus, her leaving was a way to focus on her own behaviors while leaving the family structure intact. Yvette provides another example of leaving to protect the family.

Unlike Erica, Yvette reported that she had never been the target of her father's violence growing up. She recalled the night she came home to find her father beating her mother. She shielded her mother from her father, her mother running in to the house to call the police while her father beat her. When the police came, Yvette made the decision to leave the house rather than have her father go to jail:

They sent me to one shelter, they went arrest my dad. And then I went to the shelter so my dad could go home when he got sober. 'Cause I couldn't see my dad in jail. I never press charges. I let my dad go home and I moved out of the house.

Leaving the families also allowed the women to focus on their own pursuits while leaving the family structure intact and leaving open the possibility for return. These pursuits varied from moving in with intimate partners to living on the streets or with friends doing drugs. Said Pumehana:



I live with my family, but they didn't approve of my lifestyle. I mean, they were always there to help take me in, but it was me that always left. But my parents, and I'd go with my sisters and I'd just leave. Because they don't like my lifestyle. But they want me to get help. They want to help me. But I couldn't stay sober. So I'd leave the house. I was always leaving.

Pumehana's example demonstrates how the women would choose to leave their family home in order to not fight or break up the family over their actions. Similarly, Tommy described how she chose to remove herself from the family home and live on the beach when she was using drugs in order to respect the rules of her family. By leaving, Tommy left her relationship with her family intact. Her family accepted this and visited her at the beach, remaining in close contact:

I didn't have to be homeless because I had my family to go home to, but. But you know, I never like use drugs and be there. But, family already, they knew what I was doing. Cause they used to come where I was and visit, you know.

In the section above I described the strategies that the women in this interview managed their families. These strategies include caretaking, concealing and leaving. The women undertook these strategies to uphold their family structures and to ensure that their families persisted in spite of obstacles. The benefit of a successful family is to prolong the mutual interdependence between the women and the other members of their families.

### *Intimate Partners*

The second relational domain, Intimate Partners, refers to romantic relationships. All the women in this study had at least one intimate relationship; most had several. As with all of the relational domains, the women found their

intimate relationships to be both sites of love and abuse. The women described actively seeking relationships and managing and attending to them. It is important to note that while they described themselves as being “stuck” in violent or controlling relationships, all of the women actively sought ways to free themselves from these relationships and were able to extricate themselves after a period of time. Some of the women still struggle with leaving their abusive intimate relationships. This demonstrates the level of importance this relational domain has in the lives of the women in this study. The women used a series of strategies to manage this relational domain included finding love, caretaking, leaving

*Managing Intimate Partners: Finding love.*

All the women in this study had at least one intimate relationship; most had several. “Finding love” was a primary feature in many of the women’s stories. They began to actively seek intimate partners in their early teens. Aside from Tommy who always dated women, the other women frequently entered relationships with partners older than they were. The women described actively seeking out their romantic partners. Sandy said that she would run away from her family home, going “to the park. Look for a boyfriend at a very young age. I knew that right away. I got pregnant at 13 but I had an abortion. Like, I wanted a family young.” Tommy described having her first serious girlfriend at 14 years old. Destiny described her pursuit of the older man she dated at 17:

I met him when I was hanging at my aunty's and they were popping fireworks. So I went over there. I was like, ‘eh, get extra firecrackers?’ And had only guys over there, so you know, me and my cousin we go check him

out. And we was drinking with them and whatever. And they never know how old we was, you know what I mean.... And yeah, I used to go check him out every time. 'Cause I used to pass his house every time to go see my aunty, knock on his wall, you know, '[hey], what you doing?'

Destiny recalled spending more and more time with this man despite their age difference. Destiny felt cherished and important in this relationship, spending time with this man, learning about treating others with compassion:

He was one life guard. He taught me so much about life. He taught me how to be nice to others. Even though you don't feel nice inside, you know, always approach people with kindness because, you know, if its not making you feel good, it going make them, you know what I mean? So I kind of, that's how it turned my perspective on life around.

For Destiny, engaging in this intimate relationship domain gave her the stability, love and reinforcement that she craved. The two later became intimate and she was able to openly love and support her partner through his failing health:

It turned around when I, when I made 17. It got intimate. And then he was going through all this chemotherapy, so I was there with him. And then he finally passed away when I made 18.

Despite their age difference, Destiny experienced this relationship as a healthy one, as both she and her boyfriend reciprocated love, affection and care with each other.

In much the same way Destiny idealized her relationship with her boyfriend, the other women often described the pursuit of love in very romantic terms. Jackie described meeting and going on her first date with a new boyfriend.

She said that despite her abrasive behavior, her boyfriend's early pursuit won her over:

I was giving such attitude. He told me his mentality was I'm going to get her, I'm going to get her. She's going be mine. So then that night when I was ready for leave, he was like, 'hey, you want to have breakfast?' Like he didn't hit on me all night and that was like the first ever....So he takes me to town and we go to this restaurant and he orders steak and eggs for us. And that's his favorite food. He was like, 'I'm going to order for us.' And I was like, 'sure, whatever.' 'Cause I'm all high, its not like I'm going to eat, but I'm like okay, whatever, let's go, let's do this. I ended up eating. Had a beautiful breakfast. He pulls out the chair for me and we was walking out and he was like 'hold on, hold on' and he goes and picks up flowers and gives me flowers. I'm like, there was a tear. I'm like, what are you doing? Because I never ever ever had anyone do that to me.

Jackie described the chivalry that made her fall in love: "he would open the door.

And I was like, 'I can open the door you know.' And he was like, 'no, a man opens a woman's door.' And I was like, I was just so in awe with this guy that I end up falling like really bad for him."

Likewise, Sela described meeting and marrying her husband after seven months of dating at 19 years old; a man she would leave and return to several times over the course of a decade: "it wasn't just good. It was awesome at first. [Laughs] I mean, you know, you thought that's the man of your dreams, you know? He, he was everything I was looking for in a man. At first." When asked to describe the traits that attracted her to her husband, Sela said:

He's a hard worker. He's a family man. He tend to not just me but to his son in the beginning. But only in the beginning. But yeah. He's a very hard worker.

He's giving. He has a big heart. You know what I mean. He's giving, he's very socialized and everything.

As Sela described, the beginnings of their relationships were often romantic and exciting. Soon, however, many of the women found themselves re-cast into the caretaker from their familial role, making decisions to appease their partners to their own detriment.

*Managing Intimate Partners: Concealing.*

As with their families, the women's management strategy in their relational domains included concealing. This sometimes meant keeping the abuse they experienced in their intimate partnerships secret from their families. Sela, who married her husband right out of high school thinking he was the man of her dreams, provided an example of this. Sela concealed her husband's drug use, infidelity and physical abuse from her family while doing her best to shelter her children:

I remember a couple times he would get violent. Then I would pack my kids and go to my parents' house. My famous saying is, 'oh, like, the kids wanted to see you so we came here to spend time.' They don't know. 'Til this day they don't know.

This concealing strategy was enacted to manage both her family and her intimate partner. Sela's parents were very traditionally Samoan, her father the head of a church. She described being raised in a traditional household that reinforced the gendered expectations that a wife is loyal to her husband. By concealing her

husband's abusive behaviors, Sela accommodated her family's expectations, caretaking their culture. Explaining how her concealing upheld her family's cultural values, Sela said:

I guess it had to do with the culture too, what my parents instilled in me. But I believe that when you marry somebody, once you say those vows, there's a deep meaning to it. Its not just, its not just empty words, you know.

By concealing her husband's addiction, infidelity and violence, Sela engaged in caretaking her husband by protecting him from her family's criticism. She continued to care for him in this manner through today:

'Til this day they'll never hear me say anything bad about him or about anything that happened. Why our marriage, our family- the only people that knows is our kids. And that's just between me and them. [Begins to cry]

Later in the interview, Sela revealed that though her children found out about the abuse, she continued to protect her deceased husband even after his passing by shielding him from their criticism:

My son is like, 'Mom, you know you're a superwoman, yeah?' I said, 'No I'm not. I'm human. But I'm not superwoman.' They said, 'Daddy was even lucky you gave him 18 years.' I said, 'No. We are all lucky that Daddy give us 43 years because he passed away. I told you that.' I told them that, 'We're lucky he gave us 43 years of his life, you know.'

In a similar dynamic of managing through concealing, Alohilani described not revealing her experience of abuse to her family. Having met a new man and becoming pregnant right away, Alohilani remained in a relationship with him

despite his violence. Alohilani related this to accommodating her family's expectations; by concealing the abuse she managed both her family's and her own relationship with her husband:

I stayed with him because I was pregnant. That's how your parents tell you. Even though they don't know the history behind it, but because I was pregnant, that's the father. You know, you're brought up with different morals.

For Alohilani, however, caretaking through concealing became a matter of her safety. Alohilani felt unable to leave or seek help due to the level of violence her husband enacted upon her and others. Her husband was arrested for taking part in robbing and murdering another drug connection, then leaving the body in a cane field. After being charged with robbery and hindering prosecution, her husband received a three-year sentence. While he was in and out of prison, Alohilani stayed with him, having three more children despite her fear of him: "Just by the crimes that he committed made me feel that I was sleeping with an enemy. And I let him back in, came back out, went back."

Alohilani started the process of divorcing her husband while he was incarcerated, but he stalked and threatened her each time he came out. "He would come to my job. He would make trouble. He would cancel all my clients." Despite the implicit and explicit threats of violence, Alohilani kept the severity of her husband's acts secret from those who might have helped her. Like Sela, Alohilani hid the abuse over many years. During our interview, Alohilani exclaimed, "I have never told,

you're the....Wait! You're the second person since I been in jail that I been telling this thing. Nobody else knows. What we was charged with.”

*Managing Intimate partners: Leaving.*

While many of the women managed their relationship with their families by leaving, only one woman in this study used leaving as a means to manage her intimate partnership. In an attempt to shake her husband into sobriety, Sela took her children to the continental U.S. without anyone knowing:

When I left him the first time, I took my kids and we left. He didn't know, my parents didn't know my family didn't know. I just up and leave. Um, I never been to the mainland. But I wanted so much to teach him a lesson. When I left him, its not like I was gonna divorce him, walk away from him. I wanted to, in my head I was like okay, I think this will teach him a lesson. When we move far away, he will know he's losing his family. The best thing he's ever had, he know his wife and his kids. So that's why I went to go and keep that long distance just to teach him lesson, for him to realize. So I wanted so bad for him to wake up.

After staying in hotels for a month, Sela realized that her plan was not working. She called her mother who put her touch with an aunt. Sela and her children settled on the West Coast and stayed for several years, checking in on her husband through her younger brother. Upon hearing that her husband was homeless and using drugs, she returned to Hawai'i to find him living under a bridge:

When I call my brother and he told me, he asked me, 'You still with [husband]?' and it's like, 'Of course, why you think I been calling everyday to check on him?' He said 'Sis, you love your husband, you better come and get him now. He going be dead pretty soon.' Guess what, I came. I came back and got him again.



After spending two weeks with him in Hawai'i, she brought him back to the continental U.S. When Sela's father fell ill, she and her husband returned to Hawai'i without their children, she working in health care while her husband worked in construction. She stayed with her husband despite his escalating physical violence, and finally left him when she found that he was having an affair: "He was still in denial. After I said my part, then I just left him."

As with Sela, most of the women described their leaving as the end result of years of caretaking. As described earlier, Alohilani decided to leave her husband while he was cycling in and out of prison:

After he was released, um, he went to jail, came back out. I had my daughter. My third daughter. After that, he went to treatment and everything. Came back out, I had my other daughter and then he did the four year stretch and I decided to be divorced. And then he came out knowing that I was working, doing good and he just couldn't take it. Made my life a living hell after that. Like domestic violence came like mad. Tried to get away. Just couldn't. Been living with it ever since.

Though she remained in contact with her ex-husband because of their shared custody of their children, she planned to leave the island to live her father as soon as she was legally able.

In another example of leaving as a last resort, Anuheā married her high school sweetheart and stayed with him for nearly twenty years despite his infidelity. Just as Sam attributed her staying with a controlling partner as "stuck on stupid," Anuheā described her staying as being "dumb for him," staying with her husband despite many instances of infidelity. Anuheā finally decided to leave her husband

after he had a baby with a woman in her dance troupe while she was on a contract to dance hula in Europe:

I separated from him. And doesn't make sense. But it did to me. Because all my husband ever did was fool around on me. From day one. And I don't know why I was so dumb for him. No matter how many times he did, he had - my first contract to Europe, he fooled around with my roommate. Had one baby, which was there. I went to Europe 'cause my contract, and my roommate, [he] had one baby from her.

For many of the study informants, leaving abusive intimate partners was made more difficult when this relational domain was connected to others. In Figure 1, we see that the relational domains may all be connected to each other, demonstrating the multiple interactional demands acting upon the women simultaneously.

This is exemplified by Pohai's experience. Upon moving in with her husband (intimate partner) she became addicted to the drugs he sold (drug network). He wanted to keep her isolated at home, while he served as her only social outlet. Pohai did manage to hold several jobs despite her husband's disapproval and her growing drug addiction. When Pohai realized that her addiction was getting worse, she described an incident in which she pled with her husband for help to stop using. He responded by handing her more crack cocaine and a pipe to calm her down. At this point, she devised a plan to leave. She moved in with a brother (kinship network) who helped her get off drugs, then went to Europe with the same dance company that Anuheia danced for. Though she had no prior experience with dancing hula or Tahitian, she excelled:

I worked so hard to come off of dope. I worked so hard to become, and I was one of the best dancers at the end. And I wasn't a really good Tahitian dancer. As a matter of fact, ten dancers, nine of them, you know when they 'ami [rotate hips]? They all 'ami this way. And here comes Pohai. She 'ami's this way. So I had to get trained special. It was learning how to write like an expert with my left hand when in actuality I'm a right-hander. But I was forced to learn how to write with my left hand as good as my right. You know. It was hard. But it was an accomplishment. I accomplished it. And I mastered it.

Upon her return to Hawai'i from Europe, Pohai's brother was in a new romantic relationship and could not shelter her. Given her contentious relationship with her family, she was left with no other option but to return to live with her husband. She immediately began using drugs again, disappointed in herself for returning to her addiction after only one day back in her husband's home. Eight months later, Pohai left her husband and obtained a divorce. Within Pohai's story are the intersecting processes bounded by her intimate partnership, drug network and kinship relational domains. Her strategy of leaving her partner was made difficult by Pohai's having left her family group, as she had nowhere else to go. Also, the overlap of the drug network was an additional challenge.

In another case demonstrating intersecting processes from multiple relational domains, Erica described her long, difficult process of leaving her ex-husband. Erica married her self-described high school sweetheart, the cousin of her best friend and the cousin of her sister's boyfriend. They all began smoking ice together, and drugs were an integral component of their relationship. While Erica described her husband as very violent, she said that it was the emotional abuse that

hurt her the most, as it reminded her of her abusive father: “He played a lot of mind games on me, yeah. And, like, me being abused from my father, I would have rather him hit me than play with my head like that and my emotions. And that's sick in itself, but I could handle that more than the mind games.” Erica stayed in her marriage for twenty-three years. She said that over the course of her marriage, she eventually began to fight back<sup>3</sup>:

When we would fight, he would call me ‘you stupid cunt.’ Ho, that- I just turned into one monster. I no see nothing. And then I would be busting up his truck, I would hit him. I would break the Ovation guitar over his head. He running away trying to dig out with the truck, I throw- from the third floor I throw the big jack, the kind for lift up the car, right over the balcony on to his truck. Like, I never care.

Erica recognized that these acts of violence were contextualized within her relationship to her ex-husband:

Only him could do that to me. He's the one that pushed my buttons. ‘Cause I'm, like after that, I tried to, after I divorced him I had other relationships. But um, I had my firm boundaries, like. Nobody could talk to me in that way.

---

<sup>3</sup> As in Erica's case, several of the women described responding to physical abuse by fighting back. Jackie's first boyfriend, a 17 year old she met while she was 14, used to beat her violently:

From twelve years old, I was getting really bad abused. Like *abused*. I would always have black eye, fat lips, you know. My head would have a lot of lumps. Um, he would shoot me with the bb guns, my legs, so I'd have thick bruises by my legs. I used to get abused a lot from him. Um, when I was 14, I decided [to leave], ‘cause I stayed with him for two, almost three years. He was really abusive.

Jackie recounted that she eventually began to fight back: “after a while, I would start hitting my boyfriend. I would end up hitting him. I would start protecting myself and he would end up getting hurt.”

Because he and I was high school sweethearts, I let him get away with a lot of shit.

While Erica was serving her first incarceration for theft, her husband had a baby with another woman. While still in prison, Erica sought a divorce. Following her release from prison, Erica was sober and went back to school to become a social worker. One effect of being sober, however, was weight gain. Feeling unattractive, when Erica's ex-husband began calling her, she says that she fell back into the promise of a loving relationship and began doing ice with him again:

I was doing really well in college. I had 4.0 four semesters straight, you know what I mean. I was in student clubs. I had responsibilities. I loved it. It's just that as time was going on, a lot of factors played in to. I was clean and sober. And when you clean and sober you gain a lot of weight. And I felt unattractive. Then my husband was paying attention to me and felt real. But I started doing [ice] just to make it work.

Looking to the future, Erica was determined to stay away from both drugs and her ex-husband, though her mother and children live in a town known for illegal drugs and near to where her ex-husband lives: "so like now, my mom lives in Honolulu. And my children are there, so I gotta have that on my conscience, my mind. What, how it's going to be when I go visit. 'Cause Honolulu is Honolulu. It's all up to me. Wherever I go, there it is." When asked whether seeing her ex-husband would trigger the desire for drugs or vice versa, Erica responded, "He's the trigger." We can see that Erica's caretaking of her family could possibly lead her back in to her intimate partner domain, which was also connected to her drug network.

It is interesting to note that for several of the women, prison provided a time and space to leave abusive and controlling partners. As Erica did, Michelle was using her time in prison to seek a divorce from her husband who was also incarcerated:

He's very violent. But I'd rather it be over by the time he gets out. I don't know. I really don't care how he feels about the situation because it's really not up to him. Like you know. He tries to like - I don't ever write to him or talk to him or anything like that because we're not allowed to. But even if we were allowed to I still wouldn't. Because I don't even want to keep that going. Like I don't want to keep prolonging it.

While her husband did not want to get a divorce, Michelle was refusing to communicate with him and was actively pursuing her divorce despite his objections and threats. She related her frustration with her husband's contacting her mother and trying to coerce her in to staying married. Michelle was using her time in prison as a safe space to carry out her divorce despite his objections:

I just totally cut him off like a long time ago and he still writes like all the time to my mom. And he's always like telling, saying that um, I better not try to ask for a divorce, that its not going to be over, blah blah blah. That its not up to me, that its our decision if we want to get a divorce and I'm not agreeing to that and blah blah blah, but its like really not your decision. Like I've decided I don't want to be with you. So I'm going to make the decision to get a divorce. It's not our decision any more. Like we're not a team that going to make the decisions together. It's me wanting to sever that team.

This is not to argue that prison is “good” for women, per se, but rather that incarceration assisted in the leaving process for some women.

### *Drug Networks*

The fourth relational domain the women in this study identified was the Drug Network. Illicit drug use in Hawai'i is on par with the rest of the nation. Approximately 8.76% of Hawai'i residents reported past-month use of illicit drugs as compared to the national average of 8.82%. In Hawaii, roughly 12,000 youths aged 12-17 (12.4% of all youths) per year in 2008-2012 reported past-month use of illicit drugs and about 32,000 persons aged 12 or older (2.9% of all persons in this age group) per year between 2008 and 2012 reported past-year dependency or abuse of illicit drugs (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 2014). In 2012, 38% of drug treatment admissions in Hawai'i were for marijuana and 48% were for stimulants including methamphetamine (Office of National Drug Control Policy Programs 2014). 79.3% of drug related crimes in Hawai'i were related to methamphetamine abuse (Hawai'i Meth Project 2015).

For the women in this study, using and selling illegal drugs were relational endeavors. That is, just as they sought out intimate relationships at a young age, they also actively chose to try drinking and doing drugs at a young age. As noted in previous studies, this is not an uncommon practice. Most of the women described first drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana with their friends between 12 and 13 years old. Said Tommy, "We started smoking weed in intermediate school then started drinking wine and then when lead to other drugs." Echoing this, Sam described her progression of substance abuse with her friends:

Like in high school, well, actually when I was in intermediate, that's when I had the best brains, but I tried smoking weed and I got addicted to weed and stuff. I used to smoke weed all the time with my friends. And then I don't know. When I got in to high school, it just switched. Like after I broke up with [my boyfriend], like, all my girls was like F-him, we go out. So I got in to drinking. And I got heavy in to drinking. Real heavy. I guess that's part of the reason why I dropped out because I would drink every day and I couldn't wake up. But I started smoking weed. And then they started lacing it with crack cocaine. Smoking primos. And then after that I got turned on to, when there's no weed they would just straight shoot it.

Similarly, Jackie said she began drinking with her friends at age 12, increased her alcohol use with her first boyfriend, then began using drugs with her second boyfriend, all by the age of 15:

It just break down. From 12. When I started doing ice, I was 15. So from 12, started drinking heavily. Between 13-14, I started snorting lines and did acid tabs. Then I started smoking crack during that time. Then at 15 years old I started smoking ice and ice became my number one drug.

Several of the Native Hawaiian women discussed being introduced to drug networks by their own family members. For example, Destiny described smoking ice [crystal methamphetamine] as among her only interactions with her mother:

I pretty much was on my own since I was 13. 12,13 when I went through the foster system. I started smoking cigarettes. I was dabbling. Not too much 'til I was 16 or 17, you know. I got into ice. And then I went full-blown when I moved home with my mom. My mom would smoke once in a while. We smoked together.

After being left by her mother, Destiny bounced between boyfriends, staying at their homes. At 15 years old, she went to live with her aunt, with whom she also used



drugs: “I used to stay with my aunty. She was doing drugs. And I kind of started smoking crack. Then it went from crack to ice. It was just crazy.”

Similarly, Tina began using ice with her mother: “I was 15 or 16 I started using, smoking ice. But then I used to smoke weed and stuff like that when I was like 12. And drink [with] my friends. Oh, my mom knew. My mom knew. She was the one I started smoking dope with.” Tina explained that she initially asked her mother for drugs as a “test.” Though Tina wanted her mother to set boundaries with her, her mother welcomed her in to the network of drug users. Since Tina saw that her mother was relating through drugs, Tina decided to engage and relate to her mother through drug use:

One day she was smoking dope in the bathroom and then I said ‘mom, I like try’, just for hear her say ‘no, that's not good for you.’ I wanted to hear her say something supportive, like she care about me. But she never. She said, ‘oh here.’ You know what I mean? So it was like, I was kind of blown away, but I was like, eh, you can't beat it join ‘em, then. That's how it was. She no care about me, fucking smoke, then. And I was testing her, you know what I mean, when I did that, but she failed the test. [Laughs].

Later, Tina related the pain of the enmeshment of her sister in her drug network:

I would get hurt too because it was like the only time she would be nice to me was if I was to smoke dope with her, you know. So it was like the dope that was making her like me. I would get really hurt by that, you know what I mean. You're my sister, you know. We're supposed to love each other unconditionally no matter what, but I feel like we gotta fucking have dope for you for like me.

While most of the study informants began managing their drug networks in childhood, Pumehana was the one woman who reported trying drugs for the first time as an adult. The first time she tried ice was with her sister-in-law:

I've known her for years and when I married [my husband], she was going with my brother in law and I've known her since high school and I, when we, I mean, we grew up and I knew she was doing drugs. I mean, I didn't judge her, but just one day I tried. She said would you like to try? And I just said yeah.

Erica provided an example that demonstrated the intersection of her drug networks, intimate, kinship systems. Erica described her family as "intertwined," her mother's three sisters having married her father's three brothers. Her large extended family would get together regularly, drinking, "partying" and fighting:

Every weekend we would all get together and go to Grandpa's house. And everybody party and drink. And would always start off good, everybody enjoying themselves. And then I recall um, one of the couples would be fighting and would hear our parents, oh, get your brothers, get in the car, get your brother and sister-them. And that's the last. And then we would end up right back at Grandpa's house the next weekend like nothing went happen.

This dynamic continued through her childhood, as she struggled to take care of her family, protecting her younger siblings from her father's abuse. Due to the enmeshment of the family, Erica's cousins lived with her. At age nine, they taught her how to help them steal from tourists on the beach to help support their own drug use:

They would take us to the beach with them, you know. And they were doing drugs so I guess that's how they took care of their drug habit. But when they had someone younger to teach, I was their key player, you know what I mean. And when I get away with it, they would be boosting, or praising me and I felt all real.

At age ten, the police picked Erica up for stealing a tourist's bag at the beach. Her cousins went home without her and let her take the fall for the whole group:

When my Dad-them came get me, I got bust up. My mom put my hand on the stove; burned my hand, and then that was it. That was it. And then, um, my cousins continued to take me, but on the down-low.

Erica's family intersected with both her intimate partnership and her drug use. She met her husband while still in high school and the two began their drug use drugs through both of their families:

He was my best friend's cousin- knew him from [the mainland]. And we just were attracted together. And he wasn't doing drugs when we first met. We just ended up doing drugs with his cousins afterwards. And then I started doing drugs with, my older sister is the first one who turned me on to ice. She actually go with the cousin of my husband. So that's how they started doing drugs. And then to be around with them and enjoying myself with them, I just started doing it. And that just, from 18 years old 'til now.

The overlap of drug networks and kinship networks (including friends) is consistent with the research of Laidler and Morgan (1997) who studied crystal methamphetamine ("ice") use in Hawaii. Amongst the women in their study, Laidler and Morgan (1997) found that women were typically introduced to ice by intimate friendship groups or family members, "typically a cousin or an inlaw" whose relationship was demarcated by "trust and camaraderie" (168). The kinship networks that introduced the women to ice later often served as their drug-seeking

This concept of using drugs to relate to substance-abusing loved ones emerged several times throughout this study. Jackie provided another example of this. She and her boyfriend both used and sold drugs. When she got pregnant, Jackie stopped using and asked her boyfriend to stop using as well:

I told him right after I gave birth, I was breastfeeding, so I still wasn't doing any of that stuff, and I told him I wanted him to stop. And it was really hard,

because we was, like, dealing. It was really hard because of the position I was in. And like, I tell him, 'stop using. You can deal, but just stop using 'cause I want our family to work.

When he was unable to stop using, she felt as if she could no longer communicate with him. This feeling of disconnect escalated until Jackie chose to start using drugs again to relate to her boyfriend:

It was like I could never be on his level. You know, when we were conversing. So one day I said, you know what, fuck it. I cannot get on your level, you cannot understand me, give me the damn pipe. I went yank the pipe out of his hand and he was like 'no, no smoke.' And I went just smoke and that was it. And I ended up going back. Because I, its like, trying to communicate with him, trying to make things work, and it wasn't working. It wasn't working at all. And I was so frustrated. I was hurt. I was really really hurt mostly because I wanted my family to work. I wanted it to work and it wasn't working.

Jackie used drugs to get "on the same level" as her boyfriend. Since she was sober and he wasn't, she felt that she could not relate to him. Additionally, her connection with her cousin, a drug supplier who had previously used Jackie to make sales, changed when she got sober; her cousin began to interact primarily with her boyfriend who would do the jobs that Jackie previously did. After going back to the drugs, Jackie again began to sell drugs for her cousin, alternating between dealing and caring for their child with her boyfriend.

Using drugs gave the women a way to interact and relate with peers, loved ones and significant others. It also provided the women with a place within the social network of the "dope game." As described by Maher (1997), the women's roles in their drug-related social network were shaped by gender. Whereas Maher

(1997) focused her study on the women involved in the sex trade within the street drug economy, none of the women in this study reported exchanging sex for money or drugs. The women in this study acknowledged that engaging in sex work was an option. For example, Sandy stated:

unless you're rich, how else you going get drugs? It's very expensive unless your boyfriends a dealer. And I ain't, for some reason, I ain't going to sell my body. I could've did that. I could have chose.

It is a possibility that the women in this study actively chose to not disclose sex work they engaged in. What the women did report, however, revealed other survival tactics including dealing drugs, finding side hustles such as driving other women to engage in sex work, selling their belongings, or committing property and identity crimes to support themselves and their addictions. This corresponded to their feelings of being different than the usual girls on the streets who used their sexuality to get drugs, steal boyfriends or rip people off. Rather than relating to their drug social network through sex work, the women in this study managed their drug networks by taking on the roles of little sister, wife, or seller.

#### *Managing drug networks: Taking a little sister role*

There is a dearth of research focusing on friendships in drug networks. Kandel and Davies (1991) found that illicit drug users had a higher level of intimacy than non-users, interacting more frequently in face-to-face and telephone conversations. Additionally, they found that illicit drug users discussed personal

problems with each other more frequently than non-users and that women users more frequently discussed career plans. Finally, they found that friendship with a male drug user was correlated to individual drug use (Kandel and Davies 1991). This corresponds to the experiences of the women in this study. Several of the women described managing their drug networks by taking on a “little sister” role. This allowed them to manage the male-dominated drug networks without having to exchange sex for drugs or money. To take on this role, the women presented themselves as trustworthy and only seeking platonic relationships.

For example, Sam explained how she positioned herself in the trustworthy little sister role: “I just no rip them off. I just come back with the money. If they're sleeping I don't touch their stuff. All the girls, they like rip them off.” By taking on this little sister role and distancing herself from girls who capitalized on their sexuality to rip off men in the drug world, Sam joined a network of friends who were willing to take care of her. She described one relationship in particular that meant a great deal to her that emerged from the dope game.

Having grown up in urban Honolulu, as a young child Sam had seen her father going to illegal gambling houses or “game rooms” in the downtown district. When she began using drugs, she ventured to the game rooms to smoke crack and gamble. After having a son born with major health issues and growing overwhelmed by the level of home care his condition required, Sam began spending more time in the game rooms. During one days-long run of gambling and smoking, Sam befriended a man who owned a nearby game room and how she connected with him

over similar medical concerns and a shared interest in sports. Sam's male friend took her under his wing to offer life lessons and to encourage her: "I just told him a little bit about my life. And I told him my son has a medical condition too and stuff. And then he just was explaining, like, you shouldn't be here." I ended up living there with him for a little bit."

In return, Sam provided an ear for this man to talk about his deceased wife and the conventional life he left behind. Her friend had a genuine care for Sam and encouraged her to reconsider her time spent in the game rooms:

And he told me, 'if you come into the game rooms, Sam, you shouldn't stay long.' He just told me, 'you're one girl. You don't belong in here. I can see it in you. Just go home. And they got so hooked to the machines,' he told me, 'your life is going to start to snowball.'

When her addictions began to get the better of her, her friend kicked her out of his game room:

One day I got so bad, all my money went in the machine. I couldn't stop gambling. It got worse. I would rather gamble than smoke drugs. So one day he told me 'Sam, you're a good girl and I cannot see you throw your life away on the games and especially not in mine.' And he 86'd me. He 86'd me.

Though he eventually told her she could no longer come to his game rooms, Sam spoke of the time they spent together fondly, noting he was an important source of positive interactions during her time on the street. In addition to her benefactor of sorts, Sam made other platonic friends in the dope game who helped her financially and eventually encouraged her to turn herself in:

on this last run, I had some good friends that really took care of me. They helped me to turn myself in. And today I know it sounds kind of crazy, my friends sell drugs but they don't use drugs, but they are like one of my biggest supporters too, like financially. That's wrong already. That's dirty money, but I don't know. They went help me turn myself in.<sup>4</sup>

Like Sam, Pumehana described joining “a community of chronics” in the little sister role. She reported that this community helped her financially: “they'd give me credit cards or money.” While the credit cards were opened using stolen identities, they allowed Pumehana to obtain food, shelter and drugs while she was on the streets. Similarly, Regan noted that when she left her family home for the streets, she found a network of people to help care for her as a little sister and help her survive:

I met up with people out there that took me under their wings and stuff. And I started watching them do what they doing and started learning. Started picking up, you know how to survive out there.

Regan recalled turning to one of these friends one night when she needed a shower after getting caught in a rainstorm: “we was smoking cigarette, drinking, and the last thing I know, he told me, ‘oh, it’s okay, sis. You can go sleep, baby girl.’ You know. And I said ‘okay, thank you thank you.’” Sadly, Regan woke to find her friend dead next to her and spent the night talking with the police and the paramedics. She

---

<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that all of Sam’s time in the dope game was positive. Sam described her first time on the streets as “crazy,” having money stolen and having to hustle to survive:

Every time I fell asleep I would wake up I got robbed. I gotta start from scratch or over again. The first time living out of hotels, I was paying for showers. I would pay for someone a \$20 paper [packet of drugs] or rock to shower at their place. I don’t know. It’s just crazy, the lifestyle.



concluded her story: “he had issues of his own but he didn't want to say nothing, he didn't want to talk. I wish I could have done something, you know.”

*Managing drug networks: Taking a wife role.*

The second strategy the women enacted in managing their drug networks was to play a “wife role.” This role could be fulfilled by those legally married to a drug dealer, or by someone in a romantic relationship with a drug dealer. In the wife role, the drug network used the women to make money through feminized jobs. For Sandy, this meant taking part in a scam that targeted recovering addicts.

At 17, Sandy was given the choice of going to a youth correctional facility or a drug treatment program following a felony theft charge for stealing earrings from her mother's tenants. She chose to attend the program and as one of the few women, she soon met a boyfriend. Eventually Sandy and her boyfriend were engaged in a hustle spearheaded by the director of the drug treatment program, and Sandy and her boyfriend were eventually charged with seeking other addicts to live in their clean and sober home:

We would go driving like in his van and go pick up these drug addicts in downtown Hotel Street. And by the time I was 18, I was running my own clean and sober house. And we was stuffing maybe 30 people in this three-bedroom house and we had people living in our garage, in our living room.

Sandy's job was to apply for welfare benefits and charge each person up to \$400 a month for the living space. Eventually Sandy's boyfriend and the director of the drug treatment program were arrested for extortion in another scheme. Being a woman,

Sandy was kept out of the details of the scheme, which eventually kept her from being arrested when the operation got busted:

I didn't know all the details. Only the men did. All I knew was that my old man was banking some money, dealing some drugs, and that's all you need to know. But I knew it was getting kind of shady, you know. And then next thing you know, they all went down. But thank God I never go down.

Providing another example of the wife role in the drug social network, Yvette described being a drug mule at 19 years old and transporting heroin for a West Coast gang her husband was affiliated with: “they would strap it to me, dye my hair. They would do crazy stuff to me....it was scary. I would get off the airplane and not know who I was getting off the airplane to.” Eventually Yvette’s husband starting using the drugs and was cut out of the equation, leaving Yvette to transport drugs between Hawai‘i and the West Coast for his gang. Yvette continued to serve as a mule for her husband’s sake, believing that her role as a wife required this of her:

I thought I was obligated because my husband, you know. Because I was always taught you do for your husband or you supposed to - you listen to your husband. I was just young and stupid. You know. Like, cause my mom would always tell me, you listen to your husband.

After Yvette’s husband sank deeper into his addiction, she finally made the choice to leave him. Yvette believes that because she was pregnant at the time and the gang members spoke only in Spanish around her that she was “expendable” and they let her walk away.

Similarly, Pohai also agreed to serve as a drug transporter when a new intimate partner asked her to. After being promised money to move a large quantity

of drugs, Pohai spent two weeks getting sober at his request. Pohai said she soon realized that her new partner, a drug dealer, did not want her to actually transport drugs for money, but was setting her up to be isolated and emotionally abused: “he was lying to me the whole time. Because. He didn't want me to transport at all. He just wanted me to be his toy.” Pohai and her boyfriend were soon raided by the police and due to the large amount of drugs present, she found herself facing charges of 90 years to life. Her boyfriend, on parole from federal prison, returned to federal prison and later died while incarcerated.

*Managing drug networks: Taking a seller role*

The final strategy that the women engaged in to manage their drug networks was taking a role as a seller. This role offered women a high level of autonomy in the drug-related social network. As sellers, the women often sold drugs alone or as an extension of a more powerful dealer. In the case of Jackie, the more powerful drug dealer was her cousin. For Michelle, it was another male friend. Many of the women mentioned how much money they could make selling drugs. Jackie said that the money was “unbelievable.” Tommy explained that selling drugs was a much more efficient way to earn money: “I made triple the amount than what I was making from my one day pay.” She further explained that she and the other drug dealers were given leeway in the community “as long as you no sell to the minors or sell to pregnant women.”

Selling drugs provided the women with a sense of power and accomplishment. After leaving her husband, Sela let her professional license expire

and began to sell drugs full-time on the street. Through selling drugs, Sela found a sense of belonging and importance:

I guess in my mind I found a place that made me feel needed. Made me feel like I was somebody. Because I was nobody already. And it keeps me busy where it gives my mind no time to think. It keeps me busy, it makes me feel like I was somebody, and I was problem free.

Similarly, Sandy described selling drugs and the corresponding property crimes she committed to get money for drugs as “empowering” for women despite the fact, or perhaps because it is a “man’s world:” “Crime can be a very addicting, powerful empowering for women. It’s a rush that goes along with drugs. Empowerment, I don’t know.” This theme was returned to several times in the Life Skills classes. One lesson in the series of classes asks the women to recall a period when things were going smoothly, everything was falling in to place, and they felt positive about life. Many of the women identified their time dealing drugs as this positive time and space. Though they acknowledged the illegality of these actions, the women identified their success at selling drugs as empowering and enhancing their self-concept. This enhanced self-concept allowed the women to make choices for themselves and others in the dope game.

As previously mentioned, as a seller, Jackie felt empowered to choose the level of involvement she and her boyfriend would take in the dope game following the birth of their child. Jackie stopped using drugs and decided that her boyfriend should too: “I tell him stop using. You can deal, but just stop using.” She decided that

it would be okay for the couple to sell drugs as long as they weren't using and enlisted her cousin, a higher level drug dealer, to help reinforce her decision:

Even my cousin was telling him, get your shit together. You get one baby already. And he said, he would like throw us hits for make money, but its like, he would always tell him, stop using the shit.

When her boyfriend was unable to stop using drugs and her decision was not being acted upon, Jackie reasserted herself and made new decisions for her family and the level of connection they would have to the dope game. She put herself back in the position of seller and chose to keep her boyfriend at home:

I used to be the one out dealing and doing shit with my cousin and stuff like that. I always used to tell him, 'you think you going turn the tables around on me like that, hell no. I am not, you ain't going to do that to me.' So I went back to my own shit. And I started doing all that shit again and he used to be home watching the baby.

Though the dope game provided the women with a sense of accomplishment, they acknowledged that it was a man's world. This meant that successful women dealers were met with suspicion and targeted by male dealers. Said Michelle, "like me being a girl and young and then selling dope, that's another thing. A lot of people don't like that." She believed that the men in her network of drug dealers were more apt to try to set her up with the police because she was female and successful:

I got set up by a guy who I was friends with for a long time. Like he made controlled buys on me, like secret buys for the cops. And it was like, they didn't like the fact that you know, I could just do whatever."

*Managing drug networks: Controlling addiction.*

While the women managed their drug networks by taking on specific roles for themselves, the interactional aspect of the dope game also trapped women. While the substance abuse treatment language they adopted described addiction as an individual attribute, the women described their efforts to control their drug use as an interactional process.

Many of the women adopted the label “addict” from their various treatment programs. They spoke of “being in our addictions,” also language learned from their programs. Destiny explained her understanding of this concept: “It’s a disease for me, but when I was “in my addiction”- my addiction is always there. It’s always going to be there, it’s just a part of me.”

While the women adopted the lingo of the various drug treatment programs to define addiction, it is important to note that the women described being able to harness their addictions while incarcerated or in treatment programs. They repeatedly mentioned that they did not have physical cravings, that they could control their desire for drugs, especially since their access to drugs in prison was limited. Said Erica, “if no more the drugs in front of us, its easy for quit. It is, really.” It was, however, interactions with others in the drug social networks that induced them to return to drug use. Thus, the women’s strategies for coping with their addictions revolved around staying removed from drug-related social networks. For example, Destiny said:

I can't smoke ice so I not going to smoke ice, but if I was to bump in to somebody it will bring up those emotions and that feeling of oh my god; that reconnection of ho, remember when we used to smoke. And then you know, things will start happening to my body. It will start tripping. Like water in-my mouth will come watery. I'll come sweaty. Yeah.

Similarly, Sandy admitted, "I'm not going to lie, the temptation is still there. And I don't know why. I don't."

To cope with their temptations to return to the dope game, the women employed a strategy of avoiding the relational function of drugs. This was often enacted by not discussing drugs with the other women. Sandy said:

I learned it's better to not chop it up, war story, or how I feeling over here. I find just keep it vague over here. Because I'm, you know. I don't know. It's safe. Safe. Like, I don't want to talk about it. To me, that would be like spreading a disease with these girls. It's just no good.

For Alohilani, her ex-husband maintained the ability to pull her back in to the drug network. She said,

I met him, it just took me in a world spin. And even when I got off, he still was that person that come back and make me. Every so often I relapse. Like every so many years I'll go back in to my addiction. But it's not an everyday addiction. It's just something I need to do and then pau [done]. Like I'll just go out and enjoy myself and that's it.

Like Sandy, she relied on a strategy of avoidance in order to manage her participation in the drug network. This was not easy for Sandy. She related that her biggest challenge upon getting paroled would be to avoid her ex-husband who, along with being abusive, had the ability to pull her back in to the dope game.

In the section above, I discussed the fourth relational domain, relating through drugs. As demonstrated, the use and selling of illegal drugs was a relational undertaking. Friends and family members most often introduced the women to alcohol and drugs and romantic partners often exacerbated substance abuse. Using and selling drugs gave the women a sense of empowerment and also introduced them to a social network of other drug users. To manage the dope game, the women engaged in strategies of taking on specific roles including little sister, wife, and seller. While the relational nature of the dope game helped the women survive on the streets, it also trapped the women, making it difficult to leave and easy to return back in to addiction. The decision to stay away from the relational aspect of the dope game was a common strategy to avoid falling back in to drug addiction.

#### *Criminal Justice System*

The final relational domain identified by the study informants was the criminal justice system. This included police, judges, probation officers and prison staff. The strategies the women employed to manage the criminal justice system included avoiding, taking ownership and resisting.

##### *Managing the Criminal Justice System: Avoiding the system.*

For the women in this study, most of their early management strategies of the Criminal Justice System centered around avoiding the police. For the women who lived in rural areas, almost all Native Hawaiian, this was considered an easy, though omnipresent task. The police were rarely called to their homes despite



parental abuse and drug use and when they were, the interactions were short. Tina related that at times she wished the police were called more often:

Back in the days, it was like that. You don't butt in to nobody's business. My mom can be black eye, bloody lip, whatever, nobody not going - that's just like the rules of the kind, you know what I mean, old school style. That's how it was. Sometimes in my head I would be like, I wish somebody would call the cops. You know what I mean. I wish I had the balls to call the fucking cops, you know what I mean. But of course, I would never do that.

For Tina, since people in her neighborhood did not call the police very often, she described seeing the police around but found that it was easy to avoid them: We had cops around and stuff like that, but you not going hang around where the cops stay, you know what I mean? For me, I know, because I'm always on the run or I'm hiding from them. Once I know blue lights, I'm out. I not going hang around.

Destiny also said that avoiding the police was easy and simply required staying out of sight:

I used to stay with this one boyfriend of mine. He was around my age, that one. And I used to stay with him and his grandma's house. And I never did nothing. I just went stay there and not be running all over the creation so they could catch me.

As evidence to the ability of the women to evade the police, Tommy, who started using and dealing drugs at 14 years old, was arrested and incarcerated for the first time at 43 years old. For Yvette, her interactions with the police were kept relatively short, as her father was friends with officers on the force: "half the cops he went to high school with." This intersection between her kinship system and the criminal

justice system allowed Yvette to be comfortable calling the police when her father was beating her or her mother, as she assumed her father would not go to jail and that the incident would blow over quickly.

Despite their relative ease of avoiding on-going interactions with the police, it is important to note that Native Hawaiian women reported the only two instances of sexual assault committed by or with the knowledge of the police in this study. In the first instance, Anuheia discussed her rape by a police officer who pulled her over for a driving infraction. Upon completion of the rape, the officer told her it was a punishment for her silence during the stop. Despite medical evidence of sexual trauma, the criminal case against the officer was dismissed. Though she was pursuing a civil case at the time of our interview, the attorneys for the police department were seeking a gag order on Anuheia, threatening her with further incarceration if she spoke about the assault with her family, friends or the media.

Mele described the second instance of sexual assault committed with the knowledge of the police. Mele recalled that the police picked her cousin up, brought her to a rural police station, and put her in a holding cell rather than taking her to the downtown cell block and courthouse. The police then put two drunk men in the holding cell with her:

when she went to the police station, they went put two guys in the cell with her. They was drunk and they, they put them in the cell with her.

Mele and her family had another friend who was in an adjoining cell who overheard the police encouraging the two drunk men to rape her cousin:

And so one of the guys came out and said....'eh, get one wahine [woman] inside here'. The guy that we knew, he knew us guys too. But anyway, he said then the cop told 'em, 'that's okay, that's one freebie'. So the two guys went rape her.

During her transport to the cellblock and the courthouse the next morning, Mele's cousin did not say anything about the rape. It was only when in front of the judge did she finally disclose the assault:

the judge went close the courthouse, took her in the back 'cause she just went bust out and she told him everything. Everything came out. He took her and then he sent her to the hospital.

After leaving the hospital, the judge ordered the tapes from the police station and an investigation. While the investigation was ongoing, Mele recalled police officers pulling her and her cousin over, harassing them because of the pending investigation:

Okay, okay she comes home, she like terrified as shit, okay. It takes us time for us even go out do anything, cause she won't. Finally we go out, and we going to the bank, I think it was. And they pull us on the side, pulled us over. This time I was in the car. Telling us that they going arrest us. For what?

Despite Mele's encouragement to pursue the case, her cousin decided to drop the charges:

She was scared to death. And then I was like so mad at her, you know like, 'Why? Don't do that!' You know, 'just keep on, I mean, you can move someplace else.' [She was like], 'where, Mele?'

Whereas the Native Hawaiian informants were able to avoid the police almost altogether, the local Asian American women in this study, all of whom lived in urban or suburban neighborhoods, described having to more actively work to avoid the police. Part of the reason for this seemed to be that the Asian American parents were more likely to enlist police help in intervening with the women. For example, Sam described being on the run from the police, having not returned to prison following an 8-hour pass. She lived in hotels and with friends on the streets, but would return to her family home occasionally to rest and see her daughter. While at home, her mother would call the police on her, forcing Sam to leave the house in order to avoid re-arrest: 'I would go home and sometimes I would just like sleep. But I'm on the run and she would call the cops on me. Like she would call the police. I would get so mad.'

In Sandy's situation, her mother married the detective assigned to her juvenile case. Under his influence, Sandy's mother invited increased police involvement and agreed to her repeated arrest:

So the cop, the detective who's on my case fell in love with my mom. And then, so that's why I got arrested so many fricken' times. Because he moves in with my mom now and he's influencing her, arrest, arrest, arrest. And that was like, to the extreme.

As a result of this, Sandy spent more time with her boyfriend and out on the streets hiding from the police:

So I met this boy right, my boyfriend, and they know his address so I would go to his house so the cops would come to his house and then find me there.

So at a young age I learned how to hide in the bushes. We would go to [the park] and then we would hide in the bushes but they would keep finding us. I mean, like I learned military moves at a young age.

Michelle provided another example. Though Michelle's mother didn't explicitly invite the police to the house, they were a constant presence while Michelle was on the run. Michelle encouraged her mother to allow the police to search the house, hoping that it would prove that she wasn't living at home:

Like they used to come to my mom's house three times a day, no joke. Like I was a murderer. Yeah. Like no joke. Like three times a day. And they would, my mom would always let them search because I told her to. If I'm not there, to let them search because then its going to help. Then they're going to really know that I'm not there and they're going to stop coming so much. It never happened.

Despite spending so much time avoiding the police, several of the Asian American women developed a rapport with some of the officers. For example, Jackie recalled an officer that her mother depended on to look out for her:

He kind of knew my situation with my boyfriend and what I was going through because my mom would talk to him. So when he would see me, especially on the road, he would pick me up and take me home because he knew I was past my curfew, I should be home.

While she did her best to avoid the officer, when she did encounter him, he picked her up, counseled her and brought her home. Similarly, Michelle recalled an officer who had been present at several of her arrests encouraging her to stop her involvement in illegal activities:

when they were raiding my house, he was like talking to me. And he was like, 'man, girl. You need to, like, do something about this.'

She also recalled being stopped and teased by another officer after running a yellow light:

he got out of the lane and went to pull me over. And I was with my little brother and his friend. So I was like 'ugh.' He was like telling me I'm fat, I look fat and stuff like that. Because I just got out of feds so he didn't, like, he was like 'damn, you got so fat', like that, right? [Laughs] And I was like, 'shut up!' But he knew that, and that's like him saying he knows I'm clean, you know.

The banter between the officer and Michelle reveals the relational aspect of their interactions. Telling him to "shut up" and defining his actions as teasing rather serious demonstrates the ease with which Michelle interacted with the police, even as she tried to avoid them. This is not to say that Michelle and the officer were friends. In order to reinforce his power, the officer attempted to scare Michelle:

but then he was like, 'ah, get out. You have a warrant.' And I was like [makes face]. And he was like trying to act like he was going to shake down my car, but I really didn't have a warrant. He was just, like, being an asshole.

Nonetheless, Michelle developed a rapport with this officer. Echoing Sandy's situation of having a police officer in the family, Michelle's brother recently joined the police force. Of this, she stated, "I just am waiting for him to find out all these things that I didn't tell him. All the times I didn't tell him about. All the things that like, you know, all the cops that arrest me on the regular are probably going to tell

him.” At the time of our interview, Michelle was considering avoiding her brother in his role as police officer by not returning to her hometown upon getting paroled.

*Managing the Criminal Justice System: Taking ownership.*

Another strategy the women employed to manage the criminal justices system was taking ownership of their illegal or deviant behaviors and accepting the consequences without argument. For example, Tina said

I never did get any bad experiences with police. ‘Cause once I surrender, I not going even try crying my way out of it. I just surrender. Cause for me that's it. It's done. You know what I mean? My run is done. I'm going to jail. Its over. So I not going even try to fight it or cry my way out of it. Like I said, I know what I was doing.

By accepting the consequences of their actions, the women were able to deflect any questions about others in their other relational domains and protect them from getting in trouble with the law.

In another example, when Megan was arrested for shoplifting for a friend in her drug network, the store security guards asked her for information about the friend in exchange for dropping her charges. Megan denied them, taking ownership of her wrong doing and accepting the consequences: “I know what I did. I did it. And I knew what my gut was telling me not to do. And I still did it.” In this interaction, Megan took ownership of her actions despite the fact that her friend had asked her to steal and then left the scene once Megan got caught: “I was like no. You guys aren't going to play that. I know what I did was wrong. I'm going to pay for what I

did and that's it." In this example, we see Megan managing two overlapping relational domains: the criminal justice system and her drug network.

In yet another example of taking ownership of criminalized behaviors, Yvette recalled getting picked up in her home by the Sherriff's department in front of her children on an outstanding warrant. She did not argue or dispute the charges with the officers but, rather, calmly accepted the situation:

I opened the door and I was like, yeah? He was like 'Yvette?' I was like, 'yeah?' He was like, 'we get one warrant.' He went whisper to me, cause my kids was on the bottom. He was like, 'we get one warrant for your arrest.' And I was like, 'for what?' He was like, 'you got arrested for forgery last year?' And I was like, 'yeah.' He was like, 'we doing one sweep.' I was like, 'I can change my clothes?' He was like, 'take your time.' So I went in, I gave the baby to the father. I went in the bathroom to get ready and he told I could smoke one cigarette, he said yeah. I went smoke one cigarette and he said, 'I not going handcuff you in front of your kids.' And they was like, 'where you going mommy?' And I was like, 'I'll be right back.'

As she left with the sheriff, Yvette made plans with her then-husband to take her children to her mother's house and then bail her out. Yvette's willingness to take ownership while managing the State agents gave her both time to think through a plan for herself and to maintain calm for her children. While it is notable that the sheriff was so cognizant of the children in the house, we can easily imagine that had Yvette not taken ownership in this situation, that the scene would have escalated with negative results.

Through taking ownership with the criminal justice system, the women were able to protect their own pride and shield their loved ones. This strategy also



allowed the women to gain some clemency from the criminal justice system. By demonstrating their willingness to accept their wrongdoings, the women were, at times, granted leniency by the courts. As previously mentioned, Pohai was facing 90 years to life on drug distribution charges. She was offered a plea deal: plead guilty to 20 years and the other charges would be dropped. Pohai took the deal and pled guilty to marijuana charges; the cocaine, heroin and meth charges that carried mandatory minimum sentences were dropped. At her parole board hearing, she received a minimum sentence of five years and was going to be sent to a prison on the continental U.S. to serve it. Prior to being sent to the out of state prison, Pohai wrote a series of three letters to the judge taking ownership of her crimes:

I ended up writing to the judge that sentenced me and I sent him a letter stating um, my acceptance, or, I acknowledged my crime and I- accountable, you know. I'm an addict, man. And I hung out with addicts. I hung out with dealers. That's just what I did, man. But it was all about the dope and getting high. And my second letter was giving him an idea if given an opportunity, this is what I would like to try to do and da da da da. And my third letter was basically pleading mercy from the courts for one chance to prove my better law abiding citizenship da da da da.

Pohai's letters reached and changed the mind of the judge who was known as "the hangman's judge" for being notoriously tough on drug crimes. Upon being called back in to the judge's courtroom, she learned that her letters taking ownership of her actions had made a difference with the judge and her sentencing:

he said, in all my years of being a judge, and he was retiring that year, in all my years of being a judge I have never ever resentenced anybody on such charges as yours. You are my first. And so I'm like, 'wow,' you know. But he

said what I wrote in the letters moved him to the point where I'm going to give you that chance that you're asking for and I'm going to give you time served and ten years probation and release you from jail.

The strategy of taking ownership of past actions also allowed the second chances in their prison programs. Erica had previously been sent back to prison from her work furlough program for “deviating” by interacting with family members who were also incarcerated at the time. In order to be eligible to return to the work furlough program, one of only two such available programs in the state, Erica had to make her case to the director:

I had to write one extensive letter to her with my application and submit it. And um, we did a phone interview over the phone. 'Cause I'm a returnee. Not like when you first come here, she accepts you and you just start off from ground 0. I've been here before. So she wanted to know what is going to be different. Refresh her mind why I got sent back. So I let her know. 'Cause was 12 years ago. And I let her know why and what I plan to bring to the table. And then she did the interview and she told me she was going to give me a chance and you know, that was a blessing in itself too.

By acknowledging and taking ownership of her past mistakes, Erica was able to convince the director to allow her back in to the work furlough program that would allow her to leave the prison facility early, help her find a job and ease her reentry back in to the community. Though it seemed that Erica and Pohai genuinely took ownership of their past errors, it is important to note that using this strategy did not require authentic culpability taking.

Taking ownership of one's mistakes to the proper authorities plays upon the goals of the correctional system: a "prisoner who must change her/himself cognitively, behaviorally and socially in order to reduce his/her risk of reoffending" (Pollack 2012; 105). Several of the women took ownership of their behaviors without changing themselves cognitively, behaviorally or socially, but rather, as a way to manage the criminal justice system. This often came in the form of choosing to "max out" or serve a prison sentence in its entirety as opposed to going on probation, parole or to a program. After spending nearly 11 years in and out of prison on a five-year charge for possession of crystal meth, Mele grew fed up with the system, took ownership of her actions and requested to serve out the duration of her sentence:

I was on probation, okay. Every little thing you do you go, they keep on putting you back in jail; you gotta stay in there 30 days....I couldn't take it any more. I said, I like do my time. I want to get off, I want this to be done with.

Similarly, Megan was sentenced to three months of probation and was given supervised release after being charged with a felony theft for shoplifting. After going in and out of jail for having drugs in her system or not showing up for meetings with her probation officer, Megan denied her judge's suggestion of waiting for a drug court diversion program and asked to simply take ownership of her charges and finish her sentence in prison:

So I had like 9 violations. I had 6 runs. Like I just never turned myself in so that means I'm on the run. And then I, the last time I went to court, they

wanted me to sit in jail and wait until drug court picked me up. And I told the judge I didn't want to do that. I said I'd rather just do my time at women's.

During our interview, Megan expressed regret for helping her friend steal. She did not however, find her occasional drug use problematic. When I asked her if she saw herself using drugs again in the future, Megan responded, "who's to say? When I get off papers, I don't know." This demonstrates that taking ownership does not necessarily mean changing beliefs or even future actions.

*Managing the criminal justice system: Resisting.*

The final strategy the women employed to managing the State was resistance. Resistance included agentic acts that went against the formal rules and informal expectations for the women. Like ownership, this strategy was most commonly used to negotiate the criminal justice system, especially prison and prison programs. For example, Regan recalled bringing contraband items such as her own cigarettes into prison:

I used to always bring cigarette in. After like, you know, I would peel off the cigarette, only half. Or I would put the cigarette in my mouth with the thing lit and you know take it in and I sell it to the other people.

Regan would also get in to fights and disrespect the Adult Corrections Officers (ACOs) in the prison. When asked why she did all of these things, Regan answered:

I don't know why. I just did it. Because I don't know you. You don't know me. I didn't care about anything about anything that you said. Like, who are you to tell me, you know. And so in there it was so different. Like you gotta follow rules and you gotta do what they tell you to say.

In another example, Mele resisted orders by the prison staff to do jobs that they did not want to do themselves. While incarcerated, Mele was hired to help care for the women in a psychiatric module located on the campus. Part of this job included helping the women bathe. If the women in the psych module did not bathe, the “goon squad” came to force them to shower equipped with shields. Mele recalled attempting to tell the goon squad that one woman in the module who refused to take a shower was claustrophobic and not to lock her in her room. When they shut the door anyway, the woman smeared feces all over her room including on the walls and the ceiling. The guards called to Mele to clean the room. She recalled telling them:

I don't care what you guys do. You can fire me, I don't care. You guys can keep your quarter [laughs]. Keep the quarter, send me back down, okay. I am not, I not cleaning up, I not cleaning somebody else's shit. No. No no no no.

In this act of resistance, Mele both refused to do a job that she found both disgusting and demeaning, and also brought attention to the low wages the State paid prisoners for their work. In a similar act of resistance, Pohai spoke out against a guard that verbally abused her during a strip search on her way to court. During the strip search, the guard told Pohai, “face the wall, take it off, bend over. And I don't want to see one hole, I want to see two’.” Of that incident, Pohai said:

I was like, ‘oh no you didn't.’ She goes ‘oh yes I did, cause I can. Now bend. Again, not one hole but two.’ That’s when I said, ‘fuck you’ [laughs] and I put my clothes on. I was already uncomfortable. That one comment just, I don't care what she- just take me to jail. Screw you before I beat you up.

As this occurred right after she received a release date, when she went before a judge, he asked her about the incident. Pohai reiterated to the judge that it was inappropriate and made her feel unsafe:

I told the judge exactly what the ACO said. And I said, 'if it'll get me another write up, I'll take the write up again. But I refuse to be abused like that. Cause that's abuse. That's abuse. And she's lucky I didn't beat her up, but that's inappropriate behavior, you know, so I chose not to react to it but I chose to get dressed instead and told her no.' I was so honest. I'm so honest, the kine. I even told the judge, 'and I told her fuck you.' [laughs]

Pohai ended up having to serve 25 hours of community service as a result of this incident, but since her release date had already been set, her act of resistance did not result in an extended prison sentence.

While Regan and Pohai resisted through breaking rules and challenging the ACOs, Megan demonstrated more subtle acts of resistance while in the work furlough program. After growing frustrated with the inconsistency of the rules and rule enforcement by the staff, Megan decided to stay in her apartment during all of her free time. While this was not a direct violation of the rules, it flew against the informal norms and expectations that the women would be friendly, open and grateful for the opportunity to serve out the last six months to a year of their sentence in a community-based work furlough program. She doubled down on her resistance by refusing to participate in the very common, gendered pursuit of trying to make her quarters homey while under the watch of the State:

I will not decorate this place as if it's my own, even if we have our own apartment. This is just a layover. I will not hang up stuff and you know, try to

beautify it as if it's my own. I won't rearrange it, I won't nothing. This is just as it is. This is just- leave my stuff. Like even in jail I left it just so-so, 'cause I know that's not how I would have it at my house but this is not my house. This is just the program that I have to get through.

In the above section I discussed the fourth relational domain, Managing the Criminal Justice System. In this domain, the women negotiated interactions the police, judges, probation officers and prison staff. The strategies the women engaged in while interacting with the State included avoidance, ownership, and resistance. There were some notable ethnocultural differences in how the women engaged in avoiding the police.

#### *Running it Hard*

Above, I described the four relational domains the women identified as their main sites of social interaction. These relational domains, though ever-present in our study informant's lives, can grow, shrink in size and weight, or move according to their prominence and immediacy in a woman's life.

As described in the sections above, managing each of the relational domains was a significant undertaking in and of itself that required a great deal of the women's physical, emotional and financial resources. As demonstrated by the data, the women simultaneously managed multiple relational domains at some point in their lives; some women managed their social relationships in all four domains at once.

When the demands from multiple, intersecting relational domains became overwhelming, the women described feeling as if things were "snowballing" and

that life “spun out” from under them. For example, Sam described feeling overwhelmed by the compounding demands of her family and intimate partner when she got pregnant in her junior year of high school.

After she broke up with her abusive boyfriend of four years, she started going out clubbing, drinking and smoking marijuana with the friends who comprised her drug network. She discovered that she was pregnant with her ex-boyfriend’s baby. She used her drug network connections and called her friend’s uncle, a drug dealer paroled to a clean and sober house, looking to try ice: “I was just spun out with breaking up. It was all going downhill already. And I was in one depressed mode already. He loaded the pipe, he passed it to me.”

At this time, Sam and the drug dealer became intimate, using drugs together, living in her family’s home. Sam described how she managed to maintain the equilibrium of all the compounding demands from her relational domains for a time:

it was like a process. I couldn’t get pregnant and then my dad passed away, I got pregnant. I got sober. I stayed sober. And then I relapsed. After he went to prison I found out I was pregnant with the boy. And the way everything was going, my life was just shitty. I started coaching with my coach, but he didn’t know nothing about me using.

Here we see the intersection of Sam’s intimate partnerships, kinship, drug networks and the criminal justice system. After her boyfriend was arrested, Sam found the management of the relational domains difficult and overwhelming: “after the way everything was going, my life was just shitty.” She attempted to focus on the



positive relationships, caretaking for her family and getting positive affirmation from a coach that she considered her “second dad.” Sam continued to negotiate the drug relationships, meeting with her drug network after her practices: “in the day time I would go to coach with him. And then when pau [finished with] practice, I would fly to town, grab me something then smoke. It was like a double life.” She soon discovered she was pregnant with her second child. She considered an abortion, but her coach dissuaded her:

I told my coach that I going to get one abortion and I would come back to help him coach. And he called me up. And he's a Christian. He's been in my life since I was 9 years old. He's like my second dad. And he was 'like, [Sam], you know that we are against abortions. Just be home, [my wife] is going to pick you up.' His wife ended up picking me up, bringing me to a clinic.

In attempting to plug in to the conventional with her coach, Sam agreed to not have an abortion. Though well intentioned, the coach's intervention did not honor Sam's decision to terminate a pregnancy. Thus, Sam continued to use drugs with hopes of inducing a miscarriage. She was not successful and gave birth to a son with significant health issues: “my son was born with medical problems.” With her newborn son adding to her caretaking duties, Sam sought financial help from the State via welfare and financial help:

after had my son, I was clean. Was doing really good. I had both of my kids. I went to that first to work to get that welfare and all that financial help. I would have to go to the ICU to feed him and stuff.

She soon found, however, that managing the State requirements and caretaking for her son, her daughter and her mother without her boyfriend who was incarcerated was emotionally taxing and overwhelming. At this point, Sam lost control over the relational domains:

it just got like, it was hard being the only sober person in the house. I would be home with my daughter, and when I finally got to bring [my son] home, he was a newborn. So I would wake up at six in the morning, and, like, I wouldn't go to sleep 'til like 10 or 11 at night. And, like, once I put my daughter to sleep, my mom, who was drunk, would come and wake her up for five minutes and play with her and give her back to me. It was crazy being sober watching my drunk mother every night, watching my brothers and my sister do deals. Eventually I just kind of just spun out. And having the nurses come and teach me how to do his treatments, like, it was hard. Being a single parent with both of the kids, I just lost it.

Sam returned to her drug network and attempted to caretake her family by leaving, intentionally avoiding her own guilt and her family's reprimands:

one day I told my sister and my cousin, 'you guys can watch [my son], I'm going to the store real quick.....I went downtown and I ended up picking up and using. And my guilt because I was doing so good, and my guilt, I never know how for face them. So I never go home. I never answer my call. I never know what for do because I went relapse. I never know what for tell them.

Her family involved the criminal justice system by calling the police and filing a missing persons report. After her family found her and brought her home, Sam found that her boyfriend's parents, also ex-addicts, had called Child Welfare Services to take custody of her son:

They're ex-felons. They are like in their forties, fifties. They just recently got clean. They went through the system with all that, with CPS [Child Protective

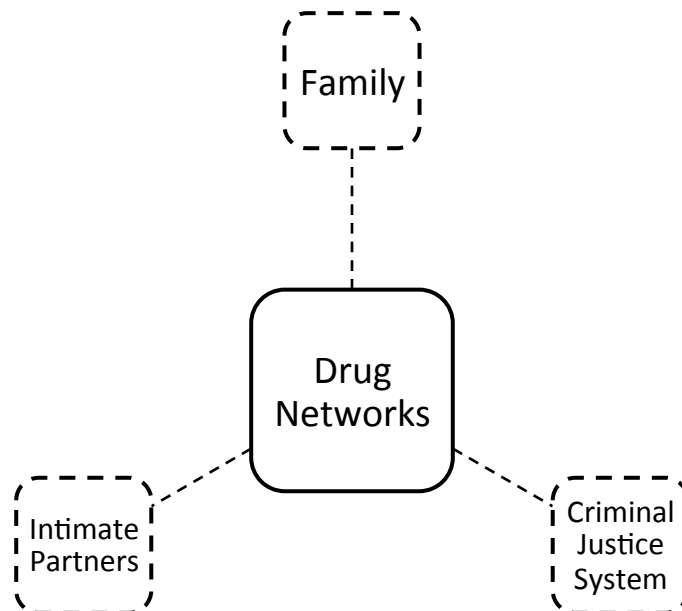
Services] and stuff. They were the first people on my porch to open hand me. To pack my son's shit and, 'this my son.'

At this point, Sam let go of attempting to manage all of the relational domains except relating through drugs: "it just felt shitty [begins to cry]. I didn't know who to reach out to and I just left the house. I just left and I ran 'em hard." In running it hard, Sam prioritized her drug networks, living on the streets, buying, selling and using drugs, avoiding the police, neglecting her family, her daughter and even her health:

I was running it so hard, I was walking downtown and I was supposed to meet my friend. And I don't know what happened. I had my purse, my phone and I literally woke up in the back of an ambulance. I guess from running it so hard, I guess I fainted in the streets. While walking. And I called my mom when I was in the ER and they was releasing me. She told me to catch a cab home. And once I got home, I showered and went right back out.

Sam continued to run it hard until the friends in her drug social network encouraged her to turn herself in to the authorities. Her return to prison marked the end of running it hard for Sam who used her time in prison to "better herself":

when I went to prison I got so much done. It was like my time away to focus on self and think about what I'd like in life. And think about all the people that I hurt and make amends.... Prison is crazy. You see it all in prison. But I never got involved. I worked out. I had a workout partner. I got myself into classes I got my GED while I was in prison coach my mom and my daughter got to come to my graduation. I took classes and I put in to go to treatment right away. And I got to work on the outside a little bit I got to cut grass and there in a little bit about maintenance. I was a peer counselor in treatment. I learned a lot.



*Figure 2 Running it Hard*

As demonstrated by Sam's example, running it hard is a period of time in which the women focus primarily on their drug networks to the detriment of their other relational domains. In Figure 2, drug networks are depicted in the center of the relational domains with other three radiating out. The lines between the relational domains remain dashed to indicate that they can grow, change and shift, though the drug networks will stay in the center.

As another example of running it hard, Erica, having been released from prison, taking classes at the University and working, returned to her intimate partnerships and was lulled back in to the drug network. At first she concealed her reunification with her ex-husband and drug use from her children and other family members. Though stressful, she managed all of the relational domains until the

unexpected death of a baby brother. Erica then let go of managing all of the relational domains and of her attempts to plug in. She focused solely on her drug use:

When he started to pay attention to me again, I felt on top of the world, like. Because I never stopped loving him. And so I fell hard. I got caught up with him, whatever he was doing I started doing. And I was doing it under the table, hiding from my family and all the ones that were, you know, loved me and supported me in my sobriety, um, I stayed away from them. I lied and I cheated, you know. And so slowly but surely, my life *snowballed*.

Like Sam, Erica managed the compounding demands of her relational domains for a time. This feeling of snowballing, however, left her vulnerable to an external trigger. For Erica, it was the death of a brother:

I lost a baby brother in a car accident. That just took the cake. I didn't care. I didn't care already if people knew I was smoking.

Erica described the prioritization of drugs while in running it hard. She stated that when she starts to run it hard, she pushes concerns for the other relational domains to the side:

I have the I-no-give-a-fuck attitude. And when that, in that state of mind, I just hurt a lot of people. And its usually the people closest to me, you know what I mean. Cause I'll lie to them, I'll manipulate them. And all my kids, like my son.

In a third example, Destiny described her descent in to running it hard. She was caretaking for her two-year-old son whom she had just regained custody over from the State. She was attending a residential drug treatment program and was in a

long-term relationship with her fiancé. When her son contracted swine flu, the program required Destiny to quarantine her son but still complete her treatment work:

He got so sick. He literally lost like frickin' 20 pounds and he was only like two years old. I was just overwhelmed. I was doing work, you know what I mean. I was working on all this homework they was giving me and then I was you know, trying to adjust to my son's situation. Like, it was hard, being that I didn't see my son for years and then all of a sudden I get him and I'm frickin' dealing with this sickness. I didn't know how to deal with it.

Overwhelmed by her treatment program, being away from her fiancé and taking care of her sick child, Destiny fell in to a depression: "I was sleeping because I was depressed. I was depressed that my son was like this. You know. Like, what am I going to do? I had no control over the situation." Unable to get out of bed, Destiny's program counselor felt that she was not committed to her treatment and kicked her out. This led to the loss of her child to the State:

I did the work but I ended up taking a nap that morning and he just never like the idea that I was taking a nap. You know, like I wasn't taking my thing seriously. But I was depressed, you know. And he told me that wasn't enough. So I ended up getting my baby, my baby was taken away.

Upon losing custody of her son and being taken out of the role of his caretaker, Destiny let go of her commitment to the relational domains except for her drug network:

I just went out like, you know what, fuck this. I'm just going to go smoke. So my result was that the uh, I'm going to smoke. So my fiancé I'm with now, he

never know I was smoking. I went out and smoked. I made one excuse to go take the car by myself and went to go see some of my friends.

Destiny eventually re-engaged with her fiancé and her children, returning to the drug treatment program and successfully completing it. She was, however, later arrested and incarcerated for crimes she committed during her period of running it hard.

As demonstrated above, running it hard meant prioritizing the drug network to the detriment of the other relational domains. For many of the women, arrest and incarceration did not necessarily end a period of running it hard. If a study informant decided that she was “not ready for change”, she might ignore the mandates of the criminal justice system and leave, going on the run, or refusing to with program rules. We can recall Regan bringing contraband items such as her own cigarettes into prison and talking back to the Adult Corrections Officers (ACOs) in the prison.

Similarly, Pumehana described being incarcerated during a period of running it hard. She was released to a prison program on supervised release for two years and went on the run after four days. Like many of the other women, she stated, “I wasn’t ready. I wasn’t ready to change” Describing her thought process when the judge gave her a choice in her sentencing, Pumehana explained how she planned to use what was supposed to be a step towards rehabilitation to ignore the Court orders and go on the run:

the judge told me you either get sentenced to women's or you get supervised release to Habilitat. When you complete Habilitat then you can walk in parole and blah blah blah blah. Oh my gosh! I'm going to Habilitat because I was going to leave within days after. Just, yeah. So I used that as a way to leave.

Whereas Pumehana did not make an attempt to complete her supervised release program, some of the women completed court-ordered program requirements to avoid prison or to get their children back from the State with no plan to stop using drugs. Said Tina: "I went through the motions cause I knew I had to. I wanted my son back. But in the back of my mind, I still wanted to smoke. Like, I wasn't ready yet, to change."

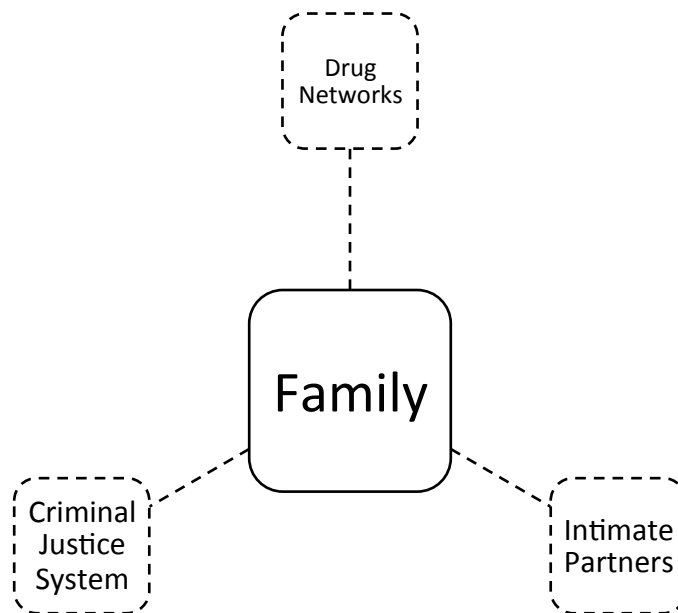
For the women in this study, running it hard was the result of the overlapping demands made by women by their relational domains. While the women were able to sustain these demands for a time, they soon felt overwhelmed. This feeling of overwhelm led them to be vulnerable to a triggering event that tipped them in to running it hard. One serious consequence of running it hard was getting entangled with the criminal justice system. For a woman "not ready to change", going on the run, continued use of drugs or not complying with prison rules could lead to additional time spent incarcerated. Tina expressed this when she said, "being on probation is a set-up because I could never stay sober. I could never stay straight, you know. So I knew I would keep messing up." Said Yvette of her extended time in prison:

I'm tired of fighting. I was in there for 14 years fighting and its like nothing going change. These thing aren't, the system's not going to change. It hasn't



changed. Things are only going to change when they want them to. So the only I can change is myself. And so I'm tired of being angry.

*Considering Culture: The Native Hawaiian Experience*



*Figure 33: Native Hawaiian Relational Domains*

Out of the 16 study informants, nine were Native Hawaiian. All were born and raised in Hawai'i except Yvette, who returned to Hawai'i when she was 10 years old. While the Native Hawaiian women's experiences contributed to the overall model of relational domains, as a sub-group, the experience of Native Hawaiian women was distinguished from the overall sample.

In contrast to the general model proposed in Figure 1, in which all relational domains were separate though overlapping, for the Native Hawaiian

women, the family as a core relational domain moved to the center of the model (See Figure 3). For the Native Hawaiian women in this study, family was of primary and significant importance as a relational domain. As noted by Kanuha (2005):

Ancient Hawaiian social life centered on a complex cosmology linking human beings, animals and plants, the skies, sea and land, as well as ancestral spirits, in a holistic experience ruled by gods (*akua*) and spiritual powers/forces (*mana*) (Kanuha 2005:65).

In accordance with this worldview, familial connections and roles were viewed as spiritually based. Pukui, Haertig and Lee (1972) write: “The individual in old Hawai‘i viewed himself as a link between his long line of forebears and his descendants, even those yet unborn” (182). This transcendent attachment to family provided the women with paradoxical and contrasting familial relationships of both suffering and comfort.

According to Tharp et al. (2007), modern Native Hawaiian households are often large, started young, multigenerational and inclusive of extended and “fictive” kin. The extended family unit spends much time interacting and exchanging resources, living as near to each other as possible. Rather than a focus on independence, the Native Hawaiian family socializes children to contribute to the family unit, with an emphasis on “interdependence, responsibility for others, sharing of work and resources, cooperation, and obedience and respect toward parents (Tharp et al. 2007:276). To this end, the Native Hawaiian women in this study described their families beyond the nuclear family units defined by non

Hawaiians. Growing up with a single Native Hawaiian mother, Megan emphasized the importance of her extended family in her childhood:

My mom was always there. Like, it's weird. We always had my grandfather, my grandparents, my mom's brother's and sisters, so that was cool. My uncle, my mom's second brother, I think he used to live on Hawaiian Homestead. My mom's older brother used to live West Side, and then yeah. My mom's younger brother lived in Kaneohe too, and my aunty used to live in Honolulu.

Megan's family's interactions illustrate the importance of sharing resources as described by Tharp et al. (2007). She described making time to get together with her extended family over the holidays, including joking about having to camp or cook food on a barbecue. She indicated having this extended family was an important part of her childhood:

Like Christmas, I mean every holiday. Like during the summers, we all, all of our cousins have to go camping, like CYO camp. You know, the Christian youth whatever down at the beach? So we all, every time. But there was always like a time span that we would have to go to each one of our mom's siblings' houses. So all for one, you know, weekend, whatever, before the summer's over so we would have to go to their houses. Like, every summer we'd do that.

Similarly, Erica, who had described her family as "intertwined" due to her mother's three siblings marrying her father's three siblings, related carrying on the tradition of family get-togethers every weekend:

Even to like in my adulthood, every weekend would be like that with me and my own siblings. And then our children. We would always go to one of each other's house. Or we would all call each other and we go to the beach and barbecue.

In describing her family, Mele was able to trace the hometown of each of her grandparents, describing the family names and lineage. She grew up with her matrilineal family that had connections in to the community at large:

My mom's side, they was really loving. I really did they liked to play music. They played the steel guitar and they used to sing to me a lot, you know, my uncles and my aunties. Um, you know [well known kumu hula (hula teacher)]? His mom and my mom is first cousins. So I always spent time, I always was with them, you know.

As noted earlier, the women in this study, both Native Hawaiian and not, engaged in a significant amount of caretaking within their kinship networks. The Native Hawaiian women in this study, however, were charged more frequently with caretaking their siblings than the non-Native Hawaiian women were (conversely, the non-Native Hawaiian women more frequently discussed financial caretaking for their families). This aligns with the research on modern Native Hawaiian families as described by Tharp et al. (2007):

Youngsters assume critical family responsibilities early; they contribute as members of a workforce of siblings who are responsible as a group for getting work done. Childcare is shared by parents and older children; older siblings are often the primary caretakers (278).

As reflected in Erica's case, "usually one child, most often the eldest girl, sees to it that major jobs get done, that younger siblings are tended" (Tharp et al. 2007: 278). Recall that Erica took on a mother-like role in her family, caring for siblings when her mother was at work and her father had retreated in to drug use. Though she was

not the oldest, she was the first child considered capable enough to tend to the others, as her sister was born with an intellectual disability.

Finally, Tharp et al. suggest that “Hawaiian children are not supposed to ‘make trouble,’ but they are expected to stand up for themselves, even to the point of fighting, and not turn to adults for sympathy or help with peer problems (278).

Yvette embodied this adage. As described earlier, Yvette was lonely and angry for having to move back to Hawai‘i with her parents. The other students at school picked on her for being “white” and made fun of her face that was healing from a car accident incurred while her father was driving drunk. She recalled getting her aggression out by fighting with her brother and then parlaying that in to winning fights with her peers:

So I was fighting a lot, yeah. So I became, now that I look back on it, I was really punchy, yeah. So I got most of my discipline I got from my older brother because my dad never hit me and my mom left. So my brother would come home and be like no. And I just would be like, okay, okay, now we go out back and us two going fight. You know, because I got lickings from my brother, nobody else in my house could do anything that would hurt. You know, so. I just fight. And I would win.

Despite her “punchy” disposition, Yvette recalled being the only one in her family to be able to calm her father down: That she accepted it and took it on was a way of fulfilling her kuleana, her responsibility to family members past, present and future. Yvette spoke of losing this power over her father after he hit her for the first time when she shielded her mother from his violence. Yvette described feeling lost and worthless after losing the spiritual connection with her father:

The first time my dad hit me, to me that was the utmost like, I failed everybody and everything. Its like I didn't have it anymore. He gave up on me. It was like I had nothing already. So I had no use to anybody or anything anymore so I left. I felt useless so I left. I was useless to everybody and everything, so I went to the streets. And I just gave up on life. Cause my dad was everything to me and so I felt like if he didn't think I was nothing, then I was nothing.

Yvette felt lost and empty without her spiritual connection to her father. She soon noticed that her son had taken up this role:

My son had it. My son could jump on my father's lap and be like, 'Papa.'" You know, 'cause my dad never hit him. My dad, he- I was watching my son with my dad and I was proud of the fact that my son had it, but I was missing my dad [cries].

This dynamic caused Yvette some inner turmoil, feeling jealous of her son and then feeling guilty for feeling jealous. She said, "some part of me was jealous of my son because it was him who had it. I gave it to him." In her statement, "I gave it to him," Yvette points out the eternal bond within Native Hawaiian families. She also acknowledged that her son had been chosen to fulfill her former role in her father's life and within the family. Yvette's sense of loss and grief compounded with her father's death:

Even up until my dad's death I really didn't know what my life was. And then my dad died and I was like, how do I live in this world with, where is my life? I didn't know where my life was without my parents' drama. Because that's all my life was.

Examining Yvette's feelings of loss and aimlessness after the loss of her father and the caretaking role she was so entrenched in demonstrates the depths to which the

women took on the task of caretaking. Having been designated as caretaker for her family, upon the loss of the power to calm her father and then with his ultimate death, Yvette lost both the role that ensured her continued importance to her family and lost an integral part of the very family system that she was drawing mutual interdependence from.

Like Yvette, many of the Hawaiian women in this study had deeply rooted, spiritual connections to their family. The Hawaiian women in this study spoke of learning Hawaiian cultural values from their grandparents and older relatives. Erica recalled her grandmother instilling in her the value of hard work and of providing for those who had less: “my stove will always have something cooked, yeah. And that was just the way 'ohana is. And if I see one of my son's friends who might be homeless, come, I going give 'em clothes.”

One of the oldest women in this study, Mele, recalled her uncle taking her and her cousins on outings to experience their island home. She recalled him taking them on a nighttime excursion to look for glass floats that would wash up in the shoreline caves from Japanese fishing boats:

The first time he took us, he made us sit down in the dark and he told us guys for be quiet and listen. So all I remember was hearing this thing, ‘clack, clack, clack, clack’. And you know, gotta be anything. Could hear the wind. But you could hear the ‘clack, clack, clack, clack’. And then he tell us turn on the light. And when we turn on the light, the whole beach was full with glass balls.

On other occasions, her uncle would take the children to the mountains:

my uncle would take us guys up to the ridge, early in the morning, cold as hell [laughs]. Freezing! He takes us up to the ridge and he makes us be quiet

again, 'no make noise.' And we all sitting out there freezing. And the sun comes up, and all along the ridge, you see all the animals: pheasants, pigs, cows, you name it or whatever, they all standing up against the ridge and they just standing watching the sun come up.

Mele lamented that these experiences could not be shared with her own children: "I mean but now, that's some things that you cannot share with your own kids 'cause no more already. You know?" To explain her sense of loss, Mele recalled her sadness when Queen's Bath, an open-air lava tube on Hawai'i Island, was covered by lava:

like when the volcano went cover the Queen's Bath. I cried! I cried, I cried and I cried. It's like, 'what you crying for?' But because I went there and I went go swimming over there the year before, I think. Um I was bringing too, my other daughter. They like, 'what you crying for?' and I was like, 'no more the Queen's Bath anymore 'cause the volcano went take em back.'

She continued to describe the loss she felt after the death of Israel Kamakawiwo'ole whose lyrics to Hawai'i 78<sup>5</sup> made her "understand what it meant to be a Hawaiian."

---

<sup>5</sup> Ua mau, ke ea o ka aina, i ka pono, o Hawai'i  
Ua mau, ke ea o ka aina, i ka pono, o Hawai'i  
(The Life of the Land is Perpetuated in Righteousness)

If just for a day our king and queen  
Would visit all these islands and saw everything  
How would they feel about the changes of our land

Could you just imagine if they were around  
And saw highways on their sacred grounds  
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each others eyes  
As they would stop to realize  
That our people are in great great danger now  
How, would they feel, could their smiles be content, then cry



She described this knowledge as understanding what the King and Queen would want for their people. As someone conscious of her Hawaiian ancestry, Mele was also a caretaker of culture for her own family. She related being the one person to remind her family that a popular waterfall hike was a sacred place to the Hawaiian gods. After a rockslide at the falls killed 11 people, she reiterated to her family that they and others had no right to be there:

Every time I went to Sacred Falls, I went to the opening of it and I would stop and I would walk away and I would say, 'no, I wait for you guys over here.' And I would let them. 'Why, Mele?' And I would say, 'I don't know.' I said, 'I no belong over there.' And I wouldn't go. And then when the people went pass away, the people died over there, from when the thing went open that day, somebody went ask me, 'what does that mean?' I said that means they shouldn't be going up there. They shouldn't let anybody just go up there.

---

[Chorus:]

Cry for the gods, cry for the people  
Cry for the land that was taken away  
And then yet you'll find, Hawai'i

Could you just imagine they came back  
And saw traffic lights and railroad tracks  
How would they feel about this modern city life

Tears would come from each others eyes  
As they would stop to realize  
That our land is in great great danger now

All the fighting that the king had done  
To conquer all these islands now these condominiums  
How would he feel if he saw Hawai'i nei  
How, would he feel, would his smile be content, then cry

In this way, Mele had the kuleana (responsibility) of both her family and her Native Hawaiian culture. While Mele and Erica felt connected to their families, Destiny felt disconnected. Left by her mother in her grandmother's house, Destiny was oftentimes isolated by her other family members:

My cousins would always pick on me because they could. And Christmas-time, you know, they would get presents and I wouldn't. You know, just stuff like that, that made me feel hurt. It made me feel hurt like nobody loved me, you know.

Despite or perhaps because of her isolation and loneliness, Destiny continually sought a more emotional connection with her mother and grandmother. She never received the emotional connection that she desired, but she believed that the distance had a cultural basis. Destiny posited, "Native Hawaiian families, they don't really open up like that." She added:

Like I was never brought up one certain way. It was just do whatever you like, you know what I mean, kind of style. Um, my grandma was like, 'go school.' We always had to go school. But other than that, everybody just did whatever they wanted to, pretty much, you know. Um, there was no discipline in our family. We kind of just had big meals, you know. We all, that's what our family did together, was just food. Really. We never got in to personal, we never sat down at the table and talk story about what happened in our day, you know what I mean. Or our feelings or anything like that. It was just, there was nothing. It was like nothing.

Delving deeper into her family history, however, Destiny shared that her great-grandmother had been a smart businesswoman, amassing property and wealth. After three generations of alcohol abuse and incestual sexual molestation, the family fell to drug use and squabbles over property. Destiny shared that she had her great-

grandmother's values instilled in her. She still remembers her great-grandmother fondly and regularly visits her grave.

According to Pukui, Haertig and Lee (1972), Destiny's observation of the family not "really opening up like that" is grounded in a Hawaiian cultural context:

To the tradition-imbued Hawaiian, questions about family relationships and health histories are more than rude. Answering such questions takes on the quality of *kaula'i na iwi i ka lā*, or even *holehole iwi*. Both were once actual practices. *Kaula'i na iwi i ka lā* was "bleaching the bones of one's ancestors in the sun." *Holehole iwi* was the grim preparatory step, literally removing or "stripping" the "flesh from the bones" of the dead body" (158).

They further that this has implications for modern day families:

'drying the bones in the sun' means talking too freely about ancestors to non-family members. 'Stripping the bones' is the more serious offense of airing the faults and weaknesses of relatives or ancestors to outsiders (Pukui, Haertig and Kee 1972:158).

While discussing the failures of the family is not common, Pukui, Haertig and Lee (1972) note that it is also improper to boast about accomplishments of ancient and current family members: "both fame and shame—in fact all family affairs—are discreetly kept within the family" (158). Destiny's experience as a woman in a modern Native Hawaiian family demonstrates the conflict between traditional and modern helping approaches described by Kanuha (2005). As a woman in contemporary Hawai'i, Destiny is more comfortable seeking Western-style talk-therapy approaches than her family. That said, she maintained a destined role as caretaker to her immediate family as illustrated by her caring for her mother. She may also be understood to be the spiritual protector and perpetuator of the core

values of her 'ohana. This dual role, bridging the traditional cultural values with modern ones was painful for Destiny as a child, but, like Mele, perhaps indicates a higher purpose for her being in regards to her family.

As indicated by the examples above, the Native Hawaiian women in this study frequently managed their families by caretaking them starting when they were young. As previously discussed, many of the women lived in abusive families in which drugs and alcohol were problems. Regardless, the Native Hawaiian women reported being in close contact with their families throughout their lives; even when they left their family homes, they would continue to be in touch with family members. Many of the Native Hawaiian women stated that their families were their biggest supporters while they were incarcerated.

Anuheā, a Native Hawaiian woman from suburban Oahu provided an example of this. She described her childhood as lonely, as she was treated differently than her siblings: when Anuheā's mother was pregnant with her and considering giving her up for adoption, Anuheā's grandmother took her on as her own special child, a practice not uncommon in Hawaiian culture (Pukui, Haertig and Kee 1972:158). Though she lived with her mother and the rest of her other siblings, Anuheā's grandmother's favor protected her from the harsh physical punishment her siblings received from their mother.

Despite, or perhaps to assuage, the jealousy with which she was regarded by her siblings, she took on the role as caretaker to her siblings' children: "All my life, I've been the one who has helped my family. I've taken care of my nieces and

nephews, almost all my entire family. I've raised them since I was a child, you know." Anuhe'a's caretaking kept her siblings' feelings of jealousy at bay. Anuhe'a felt supported by them once she was incarcerated: "I never needed their support, [but] it was really nice when I was incarcerated to see them support me."

Similarly, Jackie, who had described a childhood of witnessing domestic violence, interfamilial drug use and feeling as if her mother didn't love her enough to protect her from drugs, described how her mother had supported her through her incarceration. Her mother now puts money in to her prison account and takes care of one of her children while she is incarcerated. Said Jackie, "she'll tell me she love me and stuff like that....my mom is always going be my support system."

In another example, Erica's mother who held Erica's hand to a stove when she was arrested for stealing at nine years old, was taking care of Erica's children who range in age from five years old through 21. Erica also mentioned receiving support from the same siblings that she used to caretake when she was younger, noting that no one else came through for her during her incarceration:

When I got locked up, nobody was there for me. Nobody put money on my books, nobody went write to me. Only my sisters and my daughter. My sisters is in the Big Island and they was sending me cards and uplifting words of encouragement. Not one of those friends that I thought was my friends, you know what I mean.

For the Native Hawaiian women in this study, family was at the core of all of their interactions, contextualizing all of the other relational domains and social interactions.

At the same time that the spiritual connection to their families brought the women a sense of belonging, the sense that Native Hawaiian families were suffering in their own homelands also came to the fore. Many of the respondents described generations of physical and sexual abuse with no help sought or offered. Erica described this as a “generational curse:”

My grandfather was abusive. He was in the military. And then my grandma was home with all the kids and he was always gone, you know, in the military. And um, the kids would be cutting out of school and they would hide in the tree. This is what my dad told me. And they saw the mom bringing home all kind military guys. So they all hated their mother, yeah. But when the father came home, there was always fighting between the couple. And then he beats the kids up. So my father did what his father did to him to us.

Similarly, when asked about whether her family had a pride in being Native Hawaiian, Anuheia answered:

I would have to say my grandmother's generation, yes. My mom, no. she actually hated all things Hawaiian. Because, I don't really know why. But with her generation came the economic disadvantage, the incest, and everything that connected to it was embarrassment, shame.

Anuheia, however, saw herself and her generation as a generation ready to make change. She expressed:

We're not dumb, you know. We need to stop being treated like second citizens. We have a right. We're of this land, especially. And foreigners have taken over and treated us like we're the minority and we're not, you know. We're the majority and we have a right to this place. They come over and take over and treat us like we don't belong here and we belong here most.

For the Native Hawaiian women in this study, their families and their Hawaiian culture were central to their lives. The cultural harms enacted upon Native Hawaiians in their homelands was always in the consciousness of the women interviewed. They saw themselves as the result of and change agents for the cycles of harm their families had adapted to. Said Erica: "I started to go that route again. But I know this time around I have to. I have to break that generational [cycle], 'cause my sons."

## CONCLUSION

### *Summary and Discussion of Findings*

The women in this study discussed four major sites of social interaction, here termed relational domains. These domains included their Families, their Intimate Partners, their Drug Networks and the Criminal Justice System. In each domain, the women found opposing but reciprocal functions including affirmation and suffering, empowerment and abasement, and opportunities to engage in conventional and criminalized behaviors. Women utilized a wide range of gendered strategies to manage both the positive and negative aspects of each domain. The tensions and contradictions between the four domains seemed to be manageable much of the time.

In her study of the ways incarcerated mothers enact the role of motherhood while in prison, Enos (2001) wrote:

Because identities are many and varied and, in some instances, competing and contradictory, individuals must manage to balance identities, with the result that some are more salient, carry more commitment, and have more significant impact on the development of the self (34).

Similar to the balancing of identities described by Enos (2001), the women in this study were able to sustain and manage the multiple roles they played in their relational domains for periods of time. That is, they felt reasonable control over their own lives. As the demands and conflicts from each relational domain increased and pressures mounted, all informants described feeling overwhelmed at some



point in time, using terms such as snowballing, going downhill and spinning out. This loss of their own sense of equilibrium made the women vulnerable to external triggers that pushed them past the tipping point in to a concentrated period of drug use. The women called this “running it hard.” This challenges the current understanding of women’s addiction as a disease or a latent individual trait that women must fight.

Defining addiction as a “chronic neglect of self in favor of something or someone else” (4), Covington (2002) wrote that women’s substance abuse is best understood as a disease. Analogous to cancer, Covington views addiction as a disease that has biological, life-style and environmental origins. Women’s addiction, she wrote, is “a part of a larger portrait that includes a woman’s individual history, and the social, economic, and cultural factors that create the context of her life” (Covington 2002:2).

Covington (2002) described women’s addiction as relational. She wrote that women often use drugs in order to enter in to or solidify relationships and personify their substances of choice in a manner comparable to an intimate partner. According to Covington, the addiction process is a downward spiral, a whirlpool that claims women and drags them in to sole focus on drugs, similar to an abusive relationship:

Addiction pulls the addict into ever-tightening circles, constricting her life until she is completely focused on the drug. The object of her addiction becomes the organizing principle of her life. Using alcohol or other drugs, protecting her supply, hiding her addiction from others, and cultivating her

love-hate relationship with her drug begin to dominate her world (Covington 2002:2).

According to Covington, therapists must help addicted women accept the label “addict” in order to facilitate change (Covington 2002).

The findings from this study corroborate the relational nature of drug use described by Covington (2002). However, this study suggests that rather than conceptualizing addiction as a latent disease that may awaken and take over a woman’s life, causing her to focus on her relationship to the drugs, we must consider the ways in which drug use is a relational endeavor. Drug use takes places within a relational Drug Network. As such, for the women in this study, substance abuse did not necessarily reflect “neglect of self,” but rather, took place within a site of interpersonal relationships that the women balanced with their other interpersonal relationships. When the demands from their relationships became overwhelming, the women began *running it hard*.

I argue that *running it hard* was a strategy used as a means of escaping the overwhelming and conflicting demands placed upon them in their relational domains. To borrow a phrase from Michelle Burnham (1993) in her discussion of agency in Harriet Jacobs' slave narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, in “running it hard,” the women found a “loophole of resistance,” a retreat in which they could “disappear in plain sight.” This loophole of resistance allowed the women to delve deep in to their drug networks while resisting the demands and requests from their other relational domains. Just as Kandiyoti (1988) argued that

patriarchal structures might be identified by the types of resistance women enact,

Burnham wrote:

Only by shifting the conceptualization of agency away from the Loopholes of Resistance, subject and toward the structure might one locate sites that, like loopholes, escape detection and thus enable resistance and agency (Burnham 1993:63).

For the women in this study, drug use provided the loophole by which they could escape the gendered demands from their relational domains. As a woman in a patriarchy, providing nurturing, love and care for family members and partners was expected of the women. Taking appropriately gendered roles in the drug network was expected of the women. Being docile in the criminal justice system was expected of the women. When these overlapping demands of their time and emotional labor (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002) became too overwhelming, the women retreated to a space in which they could claim absolution from other escalating demands.

Many of the women described their time *running it hard* as being “in their addiction.” This language was commonly used in substance abuse treatment programs based on the disease model described above. While these words were meant to help women understand their physical addictions to drugs, we can see how this label can also be used as a shield, deflecting the imposed responsibility of caring of others; “I am in my addiction, I can’t help you.” Rather than seeing this as a failing on the women’s parts, we should consider that for the women in this study, turning to their drug networks was a way of exercising agency; of rejecting the societal

demands that they do their gender “right” by caretaking their loved ones, managing their physical, emotional and sexual abuses, and being compliant with the laws all at the same time.

Many of the women committed the crimes that brought them to prison while *running it hard*. While their time behind bars sometimes helped some of them to disrupt the negative consequences of retreating to their drug networks, for others, prison simply served as a pause point. All of the women in this study deemed themselves ready to emerge from running it hard and described the perceived difficulties of managing their relational domains post-incarceration with high hopes of finding a better equilibrium. True help and change might be strengthened for the women if they can contextualize their feelings of overwhelm and inadequacy within larger patriarchal forces. Additionally, the women’s efforts to care for others should be acknowledged and recognized. Rather than forcing women to take on the label of “addict,” efforts might be made to help women understand which of the relational domains are connected, how much each of the domains exert pressure on them, and to work toward identifying that tipping point before running it hard.

It is important to note that this study indicated that Native Hawaiian women’s social relationships specifically prioritize the family. The Native Hawaiian women’s management of family networks was rooted in the culturally significant beliefs and practices of ‘ohana. This spiritual connection is easily overlooked by practitioners who are not Native Hawaiian and/or who are not attuned to this familial dynamic, as we continue to improve upon our understanding of

incarcerated women. This is important as we seek culturally appropriate prevention and intervention programming.

Patterson, Ukigachiuki and Bissen (2013) described the implementation of trauma-informed care from a Native Hawaiian cultural standpoint at the Women's Community Correction Center (WCCC) on Oahu. Patterson, the former WCCC warden expressed his desire to provide the women, especially the Native Hawaiian women, a space to heal from individual and institutionalized trauma" (Patterson, Uchigakiuchi and Bissen 2013). Drawing from the concept of pu'uhonua, a "place to live a forgiven life, a place for transformation that nurtures healing within the individual, family, and community" (Patterson, Uchigakiuchi and Bissen 2013:315), Patterson and his staff strove to transform the women's prison in to a place of healing. Merging the Native Hawaiian model of pu'uhonua with community-based, trauma-informed care, Patterson and his staff began the important task of creating, implementing and evaluating screenings, programming and partnerships to reduce recidivism and begin to heal individuals and communities (Patterson, Uchigakiuchi and Bissen 2013).

The findings from this study support such efforts in two important ways. First, this study corroborates that women incarcerated in Hawai'i have experienced great amounts of trauma. It furthers our understanding of women's trauma, both physical and emotional, by locating trauma within specific relational domains and revealing strategies for managing the relational domains. The results also demonstrate that the relationships that cause trauma are also the source of

empowerment and love, thus complicating solutions and interventions. The dualistic nature of the relational domains and their attendant management strategies emphasize the need for programming that does more than re-socialize an offender.

Secondly, the results of this study indicate the need for culturally appropriate interventions. Like the concept of *pu'uhonua*, utilizing culturally-based practices would better address the needs of the women incarcerated in Hawai'i. This would be most true for the Native Hawaiian women. Once such practice is *ho'oponopono*.

*Ho'oponopono*, or "to make right," is a Native Hawaiian practice of mending relationships (Ito 1985; Nishihara 1978). This practice calls upon the participants to clear conflict through open, honest discussion framed by spiritual connections. In *ho'oponopono*, troubles are viewed as intertwined and "the components of each successive problem are dealt with individually with one level leading to the next" (Nishihara 1978:563). Each level of problem is disentangled until understanding and resolution has been reached. Currently being used in select court cases and as a component to culturally-based programs for Native Hawaiian juvenile offenders (Kelleher 2015; Perez 2016), *ho'oponopono* would provide healing for Native Hawaiian women and their families. As families are the central relational domain for the Native Hawaiian women in this study, strengthening this domain through culturally-based means may prevent recidivism and prevent future generations of Native Hawaiian women from running it hard.

### *Study Limitations*

While the theoretical constructs presented here are backed up by the data, there are study limitations. The main limitation is that it is non-generalizable. This is due to several factors. The first is the number of study informants and the non-random nature of the sampling. The sample size (n=16) is small and represented less than 1% of incarcerated women in Hawai'i. Additionally, the semi-structured nature of the interviews would make this study difficult to replicate, as interviews were the result of a guided conversation between the informant and the researcher. Finally, as noted by Charmaz (2006), the analysis and the conclusions are a direct result of the interactions between the informants and the researcher, with the knowledge and life experiences of the researcher working with the data to allow a theory to emerge. Due to my social location as a middle-class, multiracial (Non-Native Hawaiian), heterosexual, married, non-incarcerated woman, the interaction I had with the study informants cannot be precisely replicated. This also makes the study non-generalizable. The study does, however, contribute to the larger body of knowledge about incarcerated women, specifically those incarcerated in Hawai'i.

### *Considerations for Future Research*

The knowledge gained from this qualitative study has opened the door for new avenues of research on the experiences of women who are incarcerated in Hawai'i. Future research should center on a more detailed inquiry into the relational domains and processes by which women manage them. Special attention

should be paid to the ways in which the management styles are the same and how they differ or vary across relational domains depending on community and cultural influences. Future research should also continue to seek gendered and cultural difference for the management of relational domains

Events that trigger running it hard should also be considered. This would include the types of events that cause the “snowball” effect and push everyday management into running it hard. This could be examined as to the timing, sequencing and order of triggering events. Future research could also examine in greater detail how running it hard comes to an end.

Finally, future research should focus on running it hard and how incarcerated women’s addictions may be better understood in terms of relationships rather than as an individual disease.

#### *Final Statement*

The women I interviewed as part of this study, as well as the other women I met at the work furlough program, have endured, persisted and overcome almost unimaginable life obstacles. They demonstrated a desire to survive and thrive when many of us might have stumbled under the weight of the struggle. Yet, they remain optimistic. Said Sandy, “I’m happy now because, I mean, I can be excited about the future.”

They also remain committed to their social relationships, seeking healthy ways to interact with their families, friends and partners, as well as other women in the criminal justice system. Many of the women expressed a willingness to



participate in this study with the hopes of helping others. Said Anuheā, “I just felt like if documenting people that have already been harmed can help people in the future, then if there's anything that I can say that's going to help, then by all means.” This generosity of spirit is admirable and demonstrates the extent to which the women are willing to care for others. It is my sincere hope that the knowledge illuminated in this study can be used to serve women incarcerated in the state of Hawai‘i, and to seek ways to build up, as opposed to punish and criminalize, women who struggle with the management of their social relationships.



UNIVERSITY  
of HAWAII®  
MĀNOA

Office of Research Compliance  
Human Studies Program

MEMORANDUM

April 25, 2013

TO: Corey Adler  
Principal Investigator  
Sociology Department

FROM: Denise A. Lin-DeShetler, MPH, MA  
Director

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Denise A. Lin-DeShetler".

SUBJECT: CHS #20053- "Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Crime Commission and Desistance in the Hawaii Context"

Your research project identified above, including the informed consent/privacy authorization form, was approved for one year by the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program at its IRB meeting on April 19, 2013.

This memorandum is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study. Please maintain it with your study records.

The Human Studies Program approval for this project will expire on April 18, 2014. If you expect your project to continue beyond this date, you must submit an application for renewal of this Human Studies Program approval. Human Studies Program approval must be maintained for the entire term of your project.

If, during the course of your project, you intend to make changes to this study, you must obtain approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. If an Unanticipated Problem occurs during the course of the study, you must notify the Human Studies Program within 24 hours of knowledge of the problem. A formal report must be submitted to the Human Studies Program within 10 days. The definition of "Unanticipated Problem" may be found at:

[http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/documents/SOPP\\_101\\_UP\\_Reporting.pdf](http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/documents/SOPP_101_UP_Reporting.pdf), and the report form may be downloaded here: [http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/forms/App\\_UP\\_Report.doc](http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/forms/App_UP_Report.doc).

You are required to maintain complete records pertaining to the use of humans as participants in your research. This includes all information or materials conveyed to and received from participants as well as signed consent forms, data, analyses, and results. These records must be maintained for at least three years following project completion or termination, and they are subject to inspection and review by the Human Studies Program and other authorized agencies.

Please notify this office when your project is completed. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your project. Reactivation of the Human Studies Program approval will require a new Human Studies Program application.

Please contact this office if you have any questions or require assistance. We appreciate your cooperation, and wish you success with your research.

1960 East-West Road  
Biomedical Sciences Building 8104  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822  
Telephone: (808) 956-5007  
Fax: (808) 956-8683

An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

**From:** [Darin.H.Kawazoe@hawaii.gov](mailto:Darin.H.Kawazoe@hawaii.gov) [mailto:[Darin.H.Kawazoe@hawaii.gov](mailto:Darin.H.Kawazoe@hawaii.gov)]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 12, 2011 9:52 AM  
**To:** [Lorraine@reawakeningforwomen.org](mailto:Lorraine@reawakeningforwomen.org)  
**Subject:** Approval

Hi Lorraine!

The Department has granted their approval with Ms. Corey Adler's plan to begin her dissertation research at your program.

Should you have any questions, please call me at 258-2679.

Aloha,

Darin

## CONSENT FORM

### The Criminalization of Women in Hawai'i

My name is Corey Adler. I am conducting a study about women in Hawai'i who have been arrested and incarcerated for committing crimes. The main purpose of this study is to understand how women have been treated and labeled throughout their lives and how this relates to them being arrested and incarcerated. I am conducting this project in order to complete my Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Hawaii, Manoa.

If you agree to participate, you will be interviewed one time. You will be asked questions about being female, belonging to your racial/ethnic group, breaking the law and reasons to stop committing crimes. Your interview will take between 30 to 90 minutes. Approximately 30 people will participate in the whole study.

### Procedures

If you are interested in participating in this study, you can contact me directly or sign up through the Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine case managers. If you don't want to participate, there are no consequences. If you do want to participate, I will work to find a time that works best for you. Interviews may happen in a private room at Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine, or at a public place where you feel comfortable. When you sign up to participate in this study, you will receive information about the study and be informed that participation in the study is completely voluntary.

When you come to the interview, I will go over the main purposes of the study with you. I will also let you know what will happen step-by-step. Next, you will fill out a form with some background questions like your sex/gender, age, household income, etc. I will not ask you to put your name, address, phone number or any other personal information on the form. When we start the interview, I will ask you questions about yourself including questions about your childhood, your ethnicity, being a woman and about crime commission and the reasons for stopping crime.

### Risks, Stress, or Discomfort

At times during this interview, you might feel uncomfortable sharing certain types of information or your opinions. You always have the right to skip questions. I would also like to tape record the interview. If this makes you uncomfortable, please let me know and I will do the interview with no recorder. If we start the interview with the recorder on, you can ask me to turn the recorder off whenever you want. You can stop the interview at any time. After we finish the interview, you can ask me to delete or destroy any of your answers.

Please feel free to ask any questions about this project. I will answer any concerns you have about this study. Participation in this study is voluntary, and you may stop participating whenever you want with no consequences. Everyone will be treated equally by me, the Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine staff, and other programs related to this project whether you choose to participate in this study or not. If you feel like participating in this project caused you any distress, you will be referred to

your case manager and/or the executive director who will see that you receive the services you need.

#### Benefits

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. One positive outcome you may experience is an opportunity to discuss your experiences and concerns in a non-judgmental, confidential environment.

As a resident of Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine, you will receive 2 hours of community service credits. You will receive these credits regardless of what you say in the interview or how long you spend in the interview.

#### Confidentiality of Information

The records of this study will be kept private. I will not ask for or record any personal identifying information such as your name, phone number or address. Your written responses and all other information you provide will be given a unique code name while I compile the data. All the information I collect will be stored on a secure external hard drive and kept in locked file cabinets at an office in the University of Hawai'i system. The tape recordings and notes I take during the interviews will be destroyed after I compile the data. No identifying information can be linked to you or any other participant in the study.

There are some instances where I will not be able to keep information you share confidential. If any of the following occur, I must break confidentiality and notify both Lorraine Robinson, Executive Director of Ka Hale Ho'āla Hou No Nā Wāhine, and/or the proper authorities:

- 1) You say that you may intend to harm yourself or others.
- 2) You say that you abused or have knowledge of abuse of another person.
- 3) You say that you intend to violate or have violated the rules of TJ

Mahoney.

4) Information is subpoenaed by a court of law. Information will be released to appropriate authorities in compliance with the Department of Public Safety's guidelines.

If you have any questions about the research, please call me at (808) 455-0527. If you have any questions about your human subjects rights, please call the University of Hawai'i's Committee on Human Subjects (808) 956-5007.

#### Participant Statement

I certify that I have read through this form and that I understand the purpose of this study. I understand my role as a participant in this study, and I understand the risks and benefits to me. I have been told that I may stop participating in this study at any time with no consequences. I have received clear answers to my questions regarding this study.

I hereby consent to participate in this study. This consent does not give up any of my legal rights, nor does it release Corey Adler, the University of Hawai'i, or any employee or agent of the University from liability for negligence. I may take back my consent to participate at any time and receive no penalties or consequences. I know that I may ask questions throughout my participation in this research project. I

know that I may ask questions about the study to the researcher Corey Adler or her academic advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Val Kalei Kanuha.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant in this project, you can contact the University of Hawai'i, Committee on Human Studies (CHS), by phone at (808) 956-5007 or by e-mail at [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu).

I agree to participate in this study:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Name

Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Signature

I agree to have the interview audio taped:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Name

Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Signature

Cc: Participant

The Criminalization of Women in Hawai'i

Face Sheet

Participant Code:

Sex:

Age:

Race/Ethnicity:

Education:

Previous Employment:

Ages of Children:

## Interview Guide

### The Criminalization of Women in Hawai'i

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study of women and crime in Hawaii. I am conducting this study in order to complete my Ph.D. in sociology and your input is very valuable. In order to thank you for your time, you will receive 2 Community Services credits for participating in this study. We will begin by going over the consent forms and when you are ready, we will start the interview. Remember, you may stop the interview whenever you wish and still receive your Community Service credits.

Let's begin.

#### Neighborhood

Where did you grow up? How would you describe the neighborhood where you grew up? What was it like growing up in your neighborhood? How did the kids in your neighborhood treat you? The adults? Who were the good kids in your neighborhood? Who were the bad kids? How were boys and girls treated in your neighborhood? How are people from different races treated in your neighborhood? How do other people react when you say you are from [your neighborhood]? When was the last time you were in your neighborhood? How were you treated? What's the best thing about your neighborhood?

#### Family

Growing up, what was your family like? How many people were in your family? Who did you live with? What did your parents do? How were you treated by your family? What role did you play in your family? How were other family members treated? Were girls treated differently than the boys in your family? What lessons did you learn from your family? How was your family treated by others? How did other people think about your family? Do you think race or ethnicity had anything to do with how your family was treated? How does your family treat you now? Why? What's the best thing about your family?

#### School

Where did you go to school? What was your school like? Did you like school? How were girls treated at your school? How were the different races treated at school? Who were the good kids at school? Who were the bad kids? Who did you hang out with? Where did you hang out at school? How were you treated at school? How did the teachers treat you? The other students? What was the best thing about school?

#### Early criminalization

Did you ever feel like you got in trouble for doing things a lot of people were doing? Describe one of the first times you got in trouble for doing something other people were doing too. What happened? How did you feel after that? Who were the people



doing those things who didn't get in trouble? Why do you think they didn't get in to trouble? Do you think being a girl or woman has any effect on why you got in to trouble? Your race/ ethnicity?

Institutionalized Criminalization

When was the first time you remember being in trouble with the law? What do you remember? What happened?

How are women treated by the police? By the courts? When in prison? How are local people treated?

Looking back at your experiences, do you think that your experiences are connected to being a woman? Do you think your experiences are connected to being (your race/ethnicity)?

Overall, what is the best thing about being from Hawai'i? What is the best thing about being a woman in Hawaii? What are you most looking forward to in your life?

Thank you for your time. The insights you have shared are very valuable and will help people understand the lives of women in Hawai'i better. I hope this information will help women stay out of prison and to successfully transition back in to the community. Please feel free to contact me at any time if you have any questions about this study or feel as if you want me to disregard and delete any information you provided today.

## REFERENCES

- Acker, J. 1992. From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 21(5), 565-569.
- Ackerly, B., & True, J. 2008. Reflexivity in practice: Power and ethics in feminist research on international relations. *International Studies Review*, 10(4), 693-707.
- Agnew, R. 2001. Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(4), 319-361.
- Akers, R. L. 1968. Problems in the sociology of deviance: Social definitions and behavior. *Social Forces*, 46(4), 455-465.
- Alarid, L. F. 2000. Sexual assault and coercion among incarcerated women prisoners: Excerpts from prison letters. *The Prison Journal*, 80(4), 391-406.
- Alfred, T., & Corntassel, J. 2005. Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism. *Government and Opposition*, 40(4), 597-614.
- American Sociological Association. 2003. The importance of collecting data and doing social scientific research on race. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.
- Anderson, K., Armitage, S., Jack, D., & Wittner, J. 1987. Beginning where we are: Feminist methodology in oral history. *The Oral History Review*, 15(1), 103-127.
- Anglin, M. D., & Hser, Y. I. 1987. Addicted women and crime. *Criminology*, 25(2), 359-397.

- Arnold, R. 1994. Black women in prison: The price of resistance. In M.B. Zinn and B.T. Dill (Eds.) *Women of color in US society* (pp.171-184). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Arnold, R. A. 1990. Processes of victimization and criminalization of black women. *Social Justice*, 17(3 (41), 153-166.
- Artz, S. 1999. *Sex, power, & the violent school girl*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Baker, C. K., & Helm, S. 2010. Pacific youth and shifting thresholds: Understanding teen dating violence in Hawai 'i. *Journal of School Violence*, 9(2), 154-173.
- Baro, A. L. 1997. Spheres of consent: An analysis of the sexual abuse and sexual exploitation of women incarcerated in the state of Hawaii. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 8(3), 61-84.
- Batchelor, S. 2005. 'Prove me the bam!': Victimization and agency in the lives of young women who commit violent offences. *Probation Journal*, 52(4), 358-375.
- Becker, H. S. 1963. *Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Belenko, S., & Peugh, J. 2005. Estimating drug treatment needs among state prison inmates. *Drug and alcohol dependence*, 77(3), 269-281.
- Belknap, J. 2000. *The invisible woman: Gender, crime and justice*, 2nd edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Belknap, J. & Holsinger, K. 2006. The gendered nature of risk factors for delinquency. *Feminist Criminology*, 1(1), 48-71.
- Bem, S. L. 1974. The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42, 155-62.

- Bem, S. L. 1981. Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354-364.
- Bernburg, J. G., Krohn, M. D., & Rivera, C. J. 2006. Official labeling, criminal embeddedness, and subsequent delinquency: A longitudinal test of labeling theory. *Journal of research in Crime and Delinquency*, 43(1), 67-88.
- Bernstein, M., & De la Cruz, M. 2009. "What are You?": Explaining Identity as a Goal of the Multiracial Hapa Movement. *Social Problems*, 56(4), 722-745.
- Bhavnani, K. K. 1993, March. Tracing the contours: Feminist research and feminist objectivity. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 95-104). Pergamon.
- Blair, C. 1998. *Money, color & sex in Hawai'i's politics*. Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing Company.
- Bloom, B., & Chesney-Lind, M. 2000. Women in prison: Vengeful equity. In R. Muraskin & T. Alleman (Eds.) *It's a crime: Women and justice* (pp.183-204). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bloom, B., Owen, B. & Covington, S. 2004. Women offenders and the gendered effects of public policy. *Review of Policy Research*, 21, 31-48.
- Bloom, B., Owen, B., & Covington, S. 2003. Research, practice, and guiding principles for women offenders: Gender responsive strategies. *National Institute of Corrections*.
- Bonczar, T. P., & Beck, A. J. 1997. Lifetime likelihood of going to state or federal prison. Washington, DC: US Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. 2013. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- Braithwaite, R. L., Treadwell, H. M., & Arriola, K. R. 2008. Health disparities and incarcerated women: A population ignored. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(Supplement\_1), S173-S175.
- Brennan, T., Breitenbach, M., Dieterich, W., Salisbury, E. J., & Van Voorhis, P. (2012). Women's pathways to serious and habitual crime a person-centered analysis incorporating gender responsive factors. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 39(11), 1481-1508.
- Britton, Dana M. 2011. *The gender of crime*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brotheridge, C. M., & Grandey, A. A. 2002. Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of "people work." *Journal of vocational behavior*, 60(1), 17-39.
- Brown, M. 2006. Gender, ethnicity, and offending over the life course: Women's pathways to prison in the Aloha state. *Critical Criminology*, 14 (2), 137-158.
- Burnham, M. 1993. Loopholes of Resistance: Harriet Jacobs' Slave Narrative and the Critique of Agency in Foucault. *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory*, 49(2), 53-73.
- Bush-Baskette, S. 1999. The war on drugs: A war on women? In S. Cook & S. Davies Harsh (Eds.) *Harsh Punishment: International experiences of women's imprisonment* (211-229) York, PA: Northeastern University Press.
- Bush-Baskette, S. 2000. The war on drugs and the incarceration of mothers. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 30(4), 919-928.
- Butler, J. 1988. Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), 519-531.
- Carson, E.A. 2015. Prisoners in 2014. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

- Cauffman, E., Monahan, K. C., & Thomas, A. G. 2015. Pathways to persistence: Female offending from 14 to 25. *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology*, 1(3), 236-268.
- Chandler, S. M., & Kassebaum, G. 1994. Drug-alcohol dependence of women prisoners in Hawaii. *Affilia*, 9(2), 157-170.
- Chandler, Susan M. and Kassebaum Gene. 1991. *Alcohol-Drug Use Problems among Hawaii's Adult Prison Inmates: A Survey in Eight Correctional Facilities*.
- Charmaz, K. 2006. *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chesney-Lind, M. 1989. Girls' crime and woman's place: Toward a feminist model of female delinquency. *Crime & Delinquency*, 35(1), 5-29.
- Chesney-Lind, M. 2006. Patriarchy, crime, and justice feminist criminology in an era of backlash. *Feminist Criminology*, 1(1), 6-26.
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Pasko, L. 2004. *The female offender: Girls, women, and crime*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Pasko, L. 2013. *The female offender: Girls, women, and crime*. Thousand
- Chesney-Lind, M., & Rodriguez, N. 1983. *Women under lock and key: A view from the inside*. Youth Development & Research Center. University of Hawaii, School of Social Work.
- Clement, M. J. 1993. Parenting in prison: A national survey of programs for incarcerated women. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 19(1-2), 89-100.
- Cohen, S. 2002. *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Collins, P. H. 1998. It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypatia*, 13(3), 62-82.
- Cook, J. A., & Fonow, M. M. 1986. Knowledge and women's interests: Issues of epistemology and methodology in feminist sociological research. *Sociological Inquiry*, 56(1), 2-29.
- Cottler, L. B., O'Leary, C. C., Nickel, K. B., Reingle, J. M., & Isom, D. (2014). Breaking the blue wall of silence: risk factors for experiencing police sexual misconduct among female offenders. *American journal of public health*, 104(2), 338-344.
- Covington, S. 2001. Creating gender-responsive programs: The next step for women's services. *Corrections Today*, 63(1), 85-87.
- Covington, S. S. (1998). Women in prison: Approaches in the treatment of our most invisible population. *Women & Therapy*, 21(1), 141-155.
- Covington, S. S., & Bloom, B. E. 2007. Gender responsive treatment and services in correctional settings. *Women & Therapy*, 29(3-4), 9-33.
- Dallaire, D. H. 2007. Children with incarcerated mothers: Developmental outcomes, special challenges and recommendations. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 28(1), 15-24.
- Daly, K. 1992. Women's pathways to felony court: Feminist theories of lawbreaking and problems of representation. *Southern California Review of Law and Women's Studies*, 2, 11-52.
- Davis, N. J. 1972. Labeling theory in deviance research: A critique and reconsideration. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 13(4), 447-474.
- Day, S. 2012. A reflexive lens: Exploring dilemmas of qualitative methodology through the concept of reflexivity. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 8(1).

- DeHart, D. D. 2004. *Pathways to Prison: Impact of Victimization in the Lives of Incarcerated Women*. University of South Carolina, The Center for Child & Family Studies, College of Social Work. Columbia: National Institute of Justice.
- DeHart, D. D. 2008. Pathways to prison impact of victimization in the lives of incarcerated women. *Violence Against Women*, 14(12), 1362-1381.
- DePledge, D. 2009 19-August). Hawai'i pulling its women inmates out of troubled Kentucky prison. *Honolulu Advertiser*.
- Deschenes, E. P., Owen, B., & Crow, J. 2007. *Recidivism among female prisoners: Secondary analysis of the 1994 BJS data set*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/216950.pdf> Retrieved 2/12/2014
- Devault, M. L. 1999. *Liberating method: feminism and social research*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Durkheim, E. 1995. The normal and the pathological. In N.J. Herman (Ed.) *Deviance: A Symbolic Interactionist Approach*, 38-42. Lanham, MD: General Hall.
- Durkheim, E. 1997. *The division of labor in society*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Ellwood, C. A. 1912. Lombroso's theory of crime. *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 2(5), 716-723.
- England, K. V. 1994. Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 80-89.
- Erikson, K. 1960. *Notes on the sociology of deviance*. Paper read at the 55th annual meetings of the American Sociological Association: New York. [https://www.soc.umn.edu/~uggen/Erikson\\_SP\\_63.pdf](https://www.soc.umn.edu/~uggen/Erikson_SP_63.pdf) Retrieved: 1/15/2014.



- Fan, C. C. 1996. Asian women in Hawai'i: Migration, family, work, and identity. *NWSA Journal*, 8(1), 70-84.
- Farrington, D.:1977. Effects of Public Labelling, *The British Journal of Criminology*, 17(2), 112-125.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. 2009 Dueling Dualisms in A.L. Ferber , K. Holcomb & T. Wentling (Eds.) *Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: The New Basics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Fine, M. Working the hyphens: Reinventing self and other in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (70-82). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Finlay, L. 2002. Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative research*, 2(2), 209-230.
- Gaarder, E., & Belknap, J. 2002. Tenuous borders: Girls transferred to adult court. *Criminology*, 40 (3), 481-518.
- Gilfus, M. 1992. From victims to survivors to offenders: Women's routes of entry and immersion into street crime. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 4, 63-89.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Glassner, B. 1999. *The culture of fear: Why Americans are afraid of the wrong things*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Glenn, E. N. 1999. The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race. *Revisioning gender*, 3-43.

- Goffman, E. 1977. The arrangement between the sexes. *Theory and society*, 4(3), 301-331.
- Goode, E., & Ben-Yehuda, N. 1994. Moral panics: Culture, politics, and social construction. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20(1), 149-171.
- Gove, W. R., & Fain, T. 1973. The stigma of mental hospitalization: an attempt to evaluate its consequences. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 28(4), 494-500.
- Grimshaw:1985. New England missionary wives, Hawaiian women, and "the cult of true womanhood." *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 19, 71-101.
- Hage, S. M.2006. Profiles of women survivors: The development of agency in abusive relationships. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 84(1), 83-94.
- Handy, E. C., & Pukui, M. K. 1950. The Hawaiian family system. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 59(2), 170-190.
- Haraway, D. 1988. Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- Hardyman, P. L., & Van Voorhis, P. 2004. *Developing gender-specific classification systems for women offenders*. US Dept. of Justice, National Institute of Corrections.
- Hartney, C. 2006. *US rates of incarceration: A global perspective*. Oakland, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.
- Hawaii Meth Project 2015. Methamphetamine Impact: Hawaii Statistics.  
<http://hawaiimethproject.org/wp-content/themes/methproject/assets/documents/Hawaii%20Statistics%20Fact%20Sheet%202015.pdf> accessed 10/31.

- Herrera, V. M., & McCloskey, L. A. 2001. Gender differences in the risk for delinquency among youth exposed to family violence. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 28 (8), 1037-51.
- Hornblum, A. M. 1997. They were cheap and available: prisoners as research subjects in twentieth century America. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 315(7120), 1437.  
<https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/p14.pdf>
- Joe, K. A., & Chesney-Lind, M. 1995. "Just every mother's angel" An analysis of gender and ethnic variations in youth gang membership. *Gender & Society*, 9(4), 408-431.
- Jones, A. 2008. Rethinking collaboration: Working the indigene-colonizer hyphen. *Handbook of critical indigenous methodologies*, 471-486. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Jones, A., & Jenkins, K. 2008. Rethinking collaboration: Working the Indigene-colonizer hyphen. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.) *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies*. (471-486). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Jung, M. K., & Almaguer, T. 2004. The state and the production of racial categories. In R. Coates (Ed.) *Race and Ethnicity: Across Time, Space, and Discipline* (pp 55-72). . Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
- Kandel, D., & Davies, M. 1991. Friendship networks, intimacy, and illicit drug use in young adulthood: A comparison of two competing theories. *Criminology*, 29(3), 441-469.
- Kandiyoti, D. 1988. Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender & society*, 2(3), 274-290.
- Kanuha, V. 2005. "Nā 'Ohana: Native Hawaiian Families." in McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., &
- Garcia-Preto, N. (Eds.) *Ethnicity and family therapy*. Guilford Press, New York

- Kapi`olani Women's Center 2004. *Hawai'i women's health status*.  
[http://www.kapiolaniwoman.org/docs/HWHS\\_Chart\\_Book\\_2004.pdf](http://www.kapiolaniwoman.org/docs/HWHS_Chart_Book_2004.pdf)  
 Retrieved 3/12/2014.
- Keahiolalo-Karasuda, R. 2007. Hawaiians (ethnic) and incarceration. In G. Barak (Ed.), *Battleground: Criminal Justice* (337-347). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Keahiolalo-Karasuda, R. 2009. *The colonial carceral and prison politics in Hawai'i*. University of Hawaii, Manoa. Honolulu: ProQuest.
- Keahiolalo-Karasuda, R. 2010. A genealogy of punishment in Hawaii: The public hanging of Chief Kamanawa II. *Hulili: Multidisciplinary Research on Well-Being*, 6, 147-167.
- Kraska, P. B., & Kappeler, V. E. 1995. To serve and pursue: Exploring police sexual violence against women. *Justice Quarterly*, 12(1), 85-111
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. 2009. *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Laidler, K. A. J., & Morgan, P. (1997). Kinship and community: the 'ice' crisis in Hawaii. *Amphetamine misuse: international perspectives on current trends*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 163-79.
- Latkin, C., Mandell, W., Oziemkowska, M., Celentano, D., Vlahov, D., Ensminger, M., & Knowlton, A. (1995). Using social network analysis to study patterns of drug use among urban drug users at high risk for HIV/AIDS. *Drug and alcohol dependence*, 38(1), 1-9.
- Lee, J. O., Herrenkohl, T. I., Jung, H., Skinner, M. L., & Klika, J. B. (2015). Longitudinal examination of peer and partner influences on gender-specific pathways from child abuse to adult crime. *Child abuse & neglect*, 47, 83-93.

- Lemert, E. M. 1974. Beyond Mead: The societal reaction to deviance. *Social Problems*, 21(4), 457-468.
- Linnekin, J. 1987. Statistical analysis of the great Māhele: some preliminary findings. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 22(1), 15-33.
- Linnekin, J. 1990. *Sacred queens and women of consequence: Rank, gender, and colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lombroso, C. 1911. Crime, its causes and remedies (Vol. 3). Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company.
- Lorber, J. 1994. *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lorber, J. & Farrell, S.A. 1991. *The Social construction of gender*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Maher, L. 1997. *Sexed work: Gender, race, and resistance in a Brooklyn drug market*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Markowitz, F. E. 1998. The effects of stigma on the psychological well-being and life satisfaction of persons with mental illness. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 39(4), 335-347.
- Maruschak, L. M., & Parks, E. 2012. *Probation and parole in the United States, 2011*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, US Department of Justice.
- Matsueda, R. L. 1992. Reflected appraisals, parental labeling, and delinquency: Specifying a symbolic interactionist theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(6), 1577-1611.
- Mauer, M., Potler, C., & Wolf, R. 1999. *Gender and justice: Women, drugs, and sentencing policy*. Washington, DC: Sentencing Project. Retrieved 2/17/2014

([http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/File/Drug%20Policy/dp\\_genderandjustice.pdf](http://www.sentencingproject.org/doc/File/Drug%20Policy/dp_genderandjustice.pdf) )

- Merry, S. E. 2000. *Colonizing Hawai'i: The cultural power of law*. Princeton: NJ Princeton University Press.
- Merton, R. K. 1938. Social structure and anomie. *American sociological review*, 3(5), 672-682.
- Messina, N., Grella, C. E., Cartier, J., & Torres, S. (2010). A randomized experimental study of gender-responsive substance abuse treatment for women in prison. *Journal of substance abuse treatment*, 38(2), 97-107.
- Miller, D., Trapani, C., Fejes-Mendoza, K., & Eggleston, C. (1995). Adolescent female offenders: Unique considerations. *Adolescence*, 30(118), 429-435.
- Molnar, B. E., Browne, A., Cerda, M., & Buka, S. (2005). Violent behaviors by girls reporting violent victimization. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 159 (8), 731-739.
- Morash, M., Bynum, T. S., & Koons-Witt, B. (1998). *Women offenders: Programming needs and promising approaches*. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.
- Murray, J., & Farrington, D. P. 2008. The effects of parental imprisonment on children. *Crime and Justice*, 37(1), 133-206.
- Nobles, M. (2000). *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Office of Hawaiian Affairs. 2010. *The disparate treatment of Native Hawaiians in the criminal justice system*. Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

- Office of Hawaiian Affairs. 2014. The Disparate Treatment of Native Hawaiians in the Criminal Justice System. Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Retrieved 10/15/2016 ([http://www.oha.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/factsheets\\_final\\_web\\_0.pdf](http://www.oha.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/factsheets_final_web_0.pdf))
- Office of National Drug Control Policy Programs. (2014). *Hawaii Drug Control Update*.  
[https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/state\\_profile\\_-\\_hawaii\\_0.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/state_profile_-_hawaii_0.pdf) Accessed 10/31/2016.
- Okamura, J. 2008. *Ethnicity and inequality in Hawai'i*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Owen, B. (1999). *Women and imprisonment in the United States*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Pasko, L., & Chesney-Lind, M. 2010. Under Lock and Key: Trauma, Marginalization, and Girls' Juvenile Justice Involvement. *Justice Research and Policy*, 12(2), 25-49.
- Paternoster, R., & Iovanni, L. 1989. The labeling perspective and delinquency: An elaboration of the theory and an assessment of the evidence. *Justice Quarterly*, 6(3), 359-394.
- Pattenaude, A. L. 2004. No promises, but I'm willing to listen and tell what I hear: Conducting qualitative research among prison inmates and staff. *The Prison Journal*, 84 (4), 698-918.
- Pillow, W. 2003. Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 16(2), 175-196.

- Poehlmann, J. 2005. Representations of attachment relationships in children of incarcerated mothers. *Child development*, 76(3), 679-696.
- Pollack, S. 2012. An imprisoning gaze: Practices of gendered, racialized and epistemic violence. *International review of victimology*, 103-114.
- Pukui, M. K., Haertig, E. W., & Lee, C. A. (1972). *Nana i ke Kumu. Honolulu: Hui Hanai.*
- Ralston, C. (1984). Hawai'i 1778–1854: Some aspects of Maka'ainana response to rapid cultural change. *The Journal of Pacific History* 19(1), 21-40.
- Rand, M. 2009. *Criminal Victimization, 2008*. Washington, DC: USGPO.
- Regan, H. B., & Brooks, G. H. (1995). *Out of Women's Experience: Creating Relational Leadership*. Corwin Press, Inc., 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Reinharz, S. 1992. *Feminist methods in social research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Richie, B. 1996. *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered black women*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Richie, B. 2012. *Arrested justice: Black women, violence, and America's prison nation*. NYU Press
- Robertson, K., & Murachver, T. 2007. Correlates of partner violence for incarcerated women and men. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 22(5), 639-655.
- Rohrer, J. 2010. *Haoles in Hawaii*. University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu, HI.
- Rosa, J. 2004. Beyond the Plantation: Teaching about Hawai'i before 1900. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 7(3), 223-240.



- Rose, G. 1997. Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in human geography*, 21(3), 305-320.
- Rosenfield, S. 1997. Labeling mental illness: The effects of received services and perceived stigma on life satisfaction. *American Sociological Review*, 62(4), 660-672.
- Ross, L. 1998. *Inventing the savage: The social construction of Native American criminality*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. 2005. *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sabol, W. J., West, H. C., & Cooper, M. 2010. *Prisoners in 2008*. U.S Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- Salisbury, E. J., & Van Voorhis, P. (2009). Gendered pathways a quantitative investigation of women probationers' paths to incarceration. *Criminal justice and behavior*, 36(6), 541-566.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. 1990. Crime and deviance over the life course: The salience of adult social bonds. *American Sociological Review*, 55 (5), 609-627.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. 1993. *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Saxena, P., Messina, N. P., & Grella, C. E. 2014. Who benefits from gender-responsive treatment? Accounting for abuse history on longitudinal outcomes for women in prison. *Criminal justice and behavior*, 41(4), 417-432.
- Schroeder, J. R., Latkin, C. A., Hoover, D. R., Curry, A. D., Knowlton, A. R., & Celentano, D. D. 2001. Illicit drug use in one's social network and in one's neighborhood predicts individual heroin and cocaine use. *Annals of epidemiology*, 11(6), 389-394.

- Schur, E. M. 1984. *Labeling women deviant: Gender, stigma, and social control*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. 2014. Juvenile delinquency and urban areas. In T.L. Anderson (Ed.) *Understanding Deviance: Connecting Classical and Contemporary Perspectives* (106-127). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Shrewsbury, C. M. 1987. What is feminist pedagogy?. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 15(3/4), 6-14.
- Silverthorn, P., & Frick, P. J. 1999. Developmental pathways to antisocial behavior: The delayed-onset pathway in girls. *Development and psychopathology*, 11(01), 101-126.
- Simpson, S. S., Yahner, J. L., & Dugan, L. 2008. Understanding women's pathways to jail: Analysing the lives of incarcerated women. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 41 (1), 84-108.
- Snell, T. L., & Morton, D. C. 1994. *Women in prison*. Washington DC: US Department of Justice. <http://www.iapsonline.com/sites/default/files/Women%20in%20Prison.PDF> Retrieved 2/21/2014.
- Sprague, J. 2005. *Feminist methodologies for critical researchers: Bridging differences*. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Struckman-Johnson, C., Struckman-Johnson, D., Rucker, L., Bumby, K., & Donaldson, S. 1996. Sexual coercion reported by men and women in prison. *Journal of Sex Research*, 33(1), 67-76.
- Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. 2014 *Behavioral Health Barometer: Hawaii, 2014*. <http://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/Hawaii-BHBarometer.pdf> accessed 10/31/2016.

- Sue, D. W., Bucci, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. 2007. Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13,(1), 72– 81.
- Sutherland, E.H. 1940. White-collar criminality. *American Sociological Review*, 5(1), 1-12.
- Sutherland, E.H. 1998. Differential association. In F.P. William III & M.D. McShane (Eds.) *Criminology Theory: Selected Classic Readings, Second Ed.* (77-98). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Sutherland, J. (2008). Ideal mama, ideal worker: Negotiating guilt and shame in academe. *Mama, Ph. D*, 213-221.
- Taniguchi, A. S., & Heidenreich, L. 2005. Re-Mix: Rethinking the use of 'Hapa' in Mixedrace Asian/Pacific Islander American Community Organizing.
- Tharp, R. G., Jordan, C., Speidel, G. E., Hu-Pei Au, K., Klein, T. W., Calkins, R. P., ... & Gallimore, R. 2007. Education and native Hawaiian children: revisiting KEEP. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 4(1), 269-317.
- Tomaselli, K.G.; Dyll, L.; & Francis, M. 2008. "Self" and "other": Auto-reflexive and Indigenous ethnography. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (347-372). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage,
- Trask, H.K. 2008. Settlers of color and "immigrant" hegemony. In C. Fujikane & J.Y. Okamura, (Eds.) *Asian settler colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. (45-65). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- United States Census Bureau. 2011. *Overview of race and Hispanic origin: 2010*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Commerce.  
<http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf> Retrieved on 1/23/2014.

- United States Census Bureau. 2012. *Quickfacts*.  
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/15000.html> Retrieved 2/29/2014.
- Urbina, Ian. 2009. "Hawai'i to Remove Inmates Over Abuse Charges." The New York Times, August 29. Retrieved September 18, 2016  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/26/us/26kentucky.html>).
- Valdes, F. (2013). Unpacking hetero-patriarchy: Tracing the conflation of sex, gender & sexual orientation to its origins. *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities*, 8(1), 7.
- Van Voorhis, P., Wright, E. M., Salisbury, E., & Bauman, A. (2010). Women's Risk Factors and Their Contributions to Existing Risk/Needs Assessment The Current Status of a Gender-Responsive Supplement. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 37(3), 261-288.
- Vitousek, M., Ladefoged, T. N., Kirch, V., Hartshorn, A. S., Graves, M. W., Hotchkiss, S. C., ... & Chadwick, O. A. (2004). Soils, agriculture, and society in precontact Hawaii. *Science*, 304(5677), 1665-1669.
- Wakai, S., Shelton, D., Trestman, R. L., & Kesten, K. (2009). Conducting research in corrections: challenges and solutions. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 27(5), 743-752.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. 1987. Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125-151.
- West, H. C., & Sabol, W. J. (2009). *Prison inmates at midyear 2008: Statistical tables*. NCJ, 225619. <http://bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/pim08st.pdf> Retrieved on 2/15/2014
- Whittaker, E. W. 1986. *The mainland Haole: The white experience in Hawaii*. Columbia University Press.

- Widom, C. S. 2000. Childhood victimization: Early adversity, later psychopathology. *National Institute of Justice Journal* 242, 3-9.
- Winant, H. 2000. Race and race theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 169-185.
- Wolfgang, M. E. (1961). Pioneers in Criminology: Cesare Lombroso (1825-1909). *Journal Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 2(5), 716-723.
- Wright, E. M., Salisbury, E. J., & Van Voorhis, P. 2007. Predicting the Prison Misconducts of Women Offenders The Importance of Gender-Responsive Needs. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 23(4), 310-340.
- Yuen, S., Hu, A., & Engel, J. 2005. A profile of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian women incarcerated in a community residential transition program. *Hulili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 2, 97-110.